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TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1320



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SOCIALIST UNITY REQUIRED IN DETENTE'S IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE

Budapest TARSADALOMTUDOMANYI KOZLEMENYEK in Hungarian No 1-2, 1976
pp 188-193

[Article by Gyorgy G.-Markus: "Cooperation and Ideological Struggle"]

[Text] Between 22 and 29 September 1975 a conference was held in Wisla, Poland, organized with the title "The Mechanism of Ideological Struggle Amidst the Conditions of Peaceful Coexistence" at the initiative of the International Problems Committee of the scientific academies of the socialist countries, a committee which deals with problems of the ideological struggle. Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, Polish, Hungarian, GDR and Soviet delegates participated in the conference. The Hungarian delegation was led by Istvan Balogh and its members were Jozsef Balazs, Sandor Magyarodi and Gyorgy G.-Markus.

The character and problematics of the conference were defined by the circumstance that a few weeks earlier the Helsinki Final Act had been signed codifying the principles of European cooperation and security. The conference participants exchanged their views concerning the demands posed by the new situation, taking into consideration the favorable possibilities deriving from the positive changes in power relationships as well as the developing maneuvers of the enemies of detente and anti-socialist forces.

Following the speeches which presented the problem a debate developed in a constructive atmosphere. The most substantial result of the debate was the creation of an awareness that the qualitatively new situation did not simply demand that we increase our efforts but that we should also work out a new strategy with new methods, that we should develop a new model for ideological struggle.

On the basis of the lessons of the conference and my contribution to it I express in what follows a few thoughts about the ideological projection of the dialectic of struggle and cooperation between the two world systems, about the demands posed for a further development of Marxist ideology.

After the period which followed the age of the cold war, a transitional period which united motifs of opposition and isolation with motifs of sporadic cooperation, a possibility is opening (and the Helsinki Final Act expressed this possibility) for the development of relations, or rather a relational system, between the two world systems, which are antagonistic in regard to their social arrangements, in which cooperation will have an ever more defining role. Cooperative peaceful coexistence is built into the dialectical movement of world historical processes and is subordinate thereto. The changes of our age, the development in power relationships and the vectors of the individual societies unambiguously disclose the essence of this dialectical process system which is nothing other than a world-historical transition from capitalism to socialism. There can be no doubt about the existence and sharpening of certain crisis symptoms in the most developed capitalist countries--in the economy, in consumption, in life style, in relations of morality, awareness, individuality, power, the political sphere, the environment, etc.

That which many desperate or impotent or utopian thinkers have held to be a crisis in the relations of civilization, man and nature is in reality an expression of the fact that both objective production forces and ever broader masses of individuals are radically questioning the logic of capitalism which reduces all values to exchange values and illuminating the free development of socialist society which makes possible a free development of individual and society and a rational organization of relations between man and nature, the global historical perspectives of socialism which make possible the rational organization of relations between man and nature. [as published]

Both the proletariat and the bourgeoisie are bearers of production modes which by their nature are universal and mutually exclusive. Thus a struggle between them is unavoidable both internationally and within individual societies. The circumstance that the countries of the two world systems coexist while honoring each other's sovereignty, cooperating economically but competing with one another, is only a unique phenomenal form of their unresolvable antagonism which derives from the objective logic of history.

The existence of the two opposed world systems which derives historically from the class struggle of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is an international objectivization of that class struggle and whatever the form of the contacts between them it presupposes the implacability of their ideological systems, an implacability deriving from their social essence.

Surveying the present developmental phase of the socialist countries we observe that the economic-political tasks to be solved are inseparable from questions of forming social awareness. The building of a developed socialist society simultaneously presupposes and demands the effective functioning of the economy and the spread of the socialist life style.

Interdependent with this we must attribute outstanding importance to the ideological sphere. What is more, the combined effect of external and internal factors is of such a character as to make it obvious that a fundamental qualitative change must be achieved in ideological activity to adapt to the qualitatively new international situation. We might summarize the essence of the new quality by saying that we must make Marxist ideology more effective in the international ideological struggle.

The question arises: What do we mean by the concept of ideological effectiveness? We often narrow our interpretation of this expression to one aspect when we conceive our ideological struggle as the unmasking of anti-Marxist views. This is very important and a necessary element of ideological struggle but it is not identifiable with the struggle as a whole. We can satisfy the increased demands if we place greater emphasis on a further development of Marxism in a creative manner. We must apply it, enrich it and think it through ever anew in the spirit of the Lenin determination "a concrete analysis of the concrete situation." In confronting the complexity of social reality we must hold scientific socialism to that level of problem sensitivity at which it was held in the age of Marx and Engels and in the time of Lenin. The relaxation being realized as a result of the degree of consolidation in socialist social relationships and as a result of the positive changes in international power relationships is creating conditions for a certain change in emphasis and enrichment in the functions filled by Marxist ideology; in addition to continuing to be a tool for strengthening social cohesion, Marxism can serve to an even greater degree, as the scientific theory of socialism-communism, our future-forming activity and can increase the degrees of freedom of our social action.

If the forces of socialism are to self-confidently form the future of their countries and of all mankind it is indispensable that they question ever more profoundly our age, the basic problems of today and tomorrow. Evaluating in a self-critical manner the past phase of the ideological struggle between the two systems we must state that in more than one case our battle positions were disadvantageous. In many cases we were slow to bring up the historically concrete questions and to give the theoretical answers to them. This or that theory of the bourgeois ideology could achieve a certain effectiveness because in some cases they could pose and answer the questions of the age in a manner which was adequate from the bourgeois viewpoint, thus outstripping Marxist researchers.

In such cases our relatively disadvantageous position expressed itself in the fact that since we had not been the first to pose the question we were forced to stay on the ground chosen by the enemy or to concentrate first on refuting the answers given by the enemy to the questions which the enemy had posed. If Marxism does not react theoretically in an adequate manner to certain essential and timely aspects of social reality then bourgeois theories will fill the vacuum which thus arises.

We should note that a cause which can be demonstrated in the ideological sphere is an effect in a broader interdependency which can be traced back to more profound objective causes. The circumstance that Marxist theory did not pose or inadequately posed certain problems may be interdependent with the fact that these problems have not been adequately solved by socialism, by the practice of the labor movement. And this indicates that the ideological effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism is not an autonomous matter of theory but rather is fundamentally dependent on our social, economic and political successes and progress. Our achievements, the consistent realization of our goals for a developed socialism, lay the foundations for and imply a higher level and a new quality of ideological activity.

Also interdependent with these achievements is the fact that in recent times certain ultra-reactionary theories have been forced into the background, such theories as the theory of totalitarianism or Djilas' theory of the "new class," which spoke of an unresolvable antagonism between the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy.

By the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's the majority of the bourgeois politicians saw that it was becoming absurd to strive for the liquidation of the strengthened socialist camp in a way which entailed the danger of conflict by frontal war. On the other hand the economic boom which had lasted for years provided a foundation for that illusion of the bourgeois politicians that capitalist relationships might come to rule throughout the world. The technical-scientific advantage of the developed capitalist countries was ideologized by theories of growth stages, of an industrial society and of convergence. They pointed to the apparent growing similarity of the two systems and predicted the dissolving of socialism into modernized capitalism. Those problems which the bourgeois ideologists "dropped" into public awareness with suitable "tinting" were referred in these theories to the social aspects of the scientific-technological revolution, to the contradictions of socialist social relationships and economic-civilization backwardness and to links between the capitalist mode of production and objective socialization tendencies.

With the newest forms of the convergence theory bourgeois ideology also adapted to the problems of the new phase in the capitalist system, to the period of crisis following the boom. The catastrophe theories of "zero growth" and "organic growth" hypostatized the crisis deriving from the imminent contradictions of capitalism into a global crisis of civilization, man and the natural environment. Although the future pictures of the "stationary state" and of the "organic growth model" seem to contradict one another they agree in serving as a foundation for an international strategy which is directed at saving the existing dominance relationships and extending them on a global scale. At the same time these ideologies, intended also for "socialist export," do discuss

problems which Marxist theoreticians have not yet dealt with adequately. Based on certain precedents of the American "ecology school," the global models of the so-called Club of Rome point clearly, if somewhat overdramatically, to such problems as the dilemmas deriving from the demographic explosion, mass undernourishment, the growing gap between industrial developed and undeveloped countries, to the sharpening contradictions of the schema for industrial growth followed thus far, to the danger of exhausting unrenovable natural resources and of destruction of the natural environment. The problems are real and so cannot be neglected from the viewpoint of the present effectiveness of Marxism. We need not only a narrow ideological refutation but the development on scientific foundations of a Marxist answer to the problems.

It can be expected in the period following Helsinki that both institutional and personal contacts between the two world systems will expand and become more regular and more intensive in the area of the social sciences. The exchange of books and other forms of publications will expand, too. Naturally it is our basic principle that we support the exchange of valuable things, of scientific and cultural values, while we oppose the influx of ideas hostilely opposed to socialism, but it would be an illusion to think that petit-bourgeois ideological elements can be completely eliminated from scientific contacts, so we must reckon with the infiltration of the latter. Ideology and scientific content are unavoidably mixed and penetrate one another in the social sciences. We must definitely prevent the spread of unambiguous, openly antihuman and anticommunist ideas but we must be aware that when scientific values are exchanged we must reckon with the "smuggling in" of petit-bourgeois and bourgeois ideological motifs "clinging" to them. Insofar as we agree to an exchange--and we bound ourselves in principle to such an exchange at Helsinki--we must insure the advantage of the Marxist social sciences in the course of the confrontation by uniting in a creative manner Marxist partisanship and scientific objectivity. We must find the positive, reality-disclosing values of the bourgeois social science researchers, transvalued and purified of ideological overlap and overtones, but even in the most imposing scientific achievements we must make more evident the false awareness which derives from class limitations.

The principle of a differentiated approach must be kept in mind as an important requirement, too. We must not treat bourgeois ideology as something uniform, as a system independent of time and circumstances. Developing the effectiveness of Marxism-Leninism demands that we not take up the fight with some ill-defined or perhaps anachronistic "ideal type" of bourgeois ideology (for this would be shadowboxing and not real ideological struggle) but rather that we prepare and carry out our advance in possession of an "ideological map" faithful to reality.

Categorizing the types of bourgeois ideology is indispensable for the preparation of an "ideological map." The necessity for this is underlined today by the fact that the unambiguous global function of bourgeois ideology manifests itself in part-functions which can be separated from one another, which sometimes even contradict one another.

It appears that we might take three trends as a foundation for a definition of the current types of bourgeois ideology: the unique manifestations of the conservative-liberal ideology, the technocrat-positivist ideology, and the negativist ideology.

In the phase of detente which is now developing it is especially justified and necessary that the differentiated approach be based on a uniform type categorization of bourgeois ideas because this will facilitate the recognition, first, of what social problems a dialog can be developed in with the several groups of the bourgeoisie at a national or international level and, second, of what ideological types (and in what aspects) represent the most direct political danger.

The differentiated view must be realized in a differentiation of the several levels of ideological struggle, too. It is well known that the ideological struggle between the two systems takes place at various levels of social awareness--at the levels of sciences and philosophy, of political ideologies, of propaganda, and at the empirical level (such as the confrontation of life-style models).

It is natural that the levels overlap and that there are transitions between them, but in our contacts we must strive for a differentiation of levels. The effectiveness of the struggle against bourgeois ideas demands that we keep in mind a hierarchy of levels. Naturally we cannot react to hostile propaganda at the level of abstract social philosophy, but it is also ineffective for us to wage a struggle at the propaganda level against bourgeois philosophy and political ideology.

Every sign indicates that in the period following Helsinki the struggle between the two world systems will increase in the area of propaganda. In our propaganda work we must build to an even greater extent on the real, world-historical superiority of socialism, its higher order as compared to capitalism, calling attention to the dynamics and achievements of our development. But this basic principle must be supplemented with another, perhaps not inconsequential, motif.

Socialism, although it liquidates the antagonisms characteristic of class societies, is not without contradictions, for without the objective contradictions of reality there could be no movement, no social progress. It is well known how Marx characterizes the contradictions of socialist society in his "Critique of the Gotha Program." And added to the contradictions predicted by Marx are those contradictions which derive from the initial relative backwardness of the socialist countries and from

coexistence with the capitalist world system. So in the course of our propaganda work we must call attention to the undoubted superiority and achievements of socialism, but we must not deny our problems, difficulties, objective contradictions and possibly subjective mistakes. The credibility of our propaganda demands that we present things not simplified but rather in their dialectic complexity and not pass over in silence the deficiencies, troubles and problems. If we do not care for the informational value of our propaganda then we increase willy-nilly the potential audience of hostile propaganda forums. At the same time we must continue to be careful lest the spreading and reception of propaganda be imagined on the basis of an abstract teacher-student model. Effective propaganda demands that we regard those to whom this activity is directed as mature, adult people who are our colleagues for better or worse in the building of socialism.

If in the course of criticizing some bourgeois ideological system we are satisfied to refute its message with a mixture of the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism, we will achieve precious little. Proving that some bourgeois author (or trend) is not Marxist is effective only if we verify with reality the truth of the Marxist theses.

So when we oppose the contemporary bourgeois, petit-bourgeois social theories or political theoretical ideas we must be more aware than ever before of the Marxist principle of ideological criticism according to which ideologies are never to be interpreted only "ideologically," only in the sphere of thought, but rather always in their relationship to social being.

In many cases a more effective awareness of this could contribute to our overcoming a certain defensive conditioning. Perhaps we could react with better discrimination to those phenomena and contradictions which derive from the fact that those theses and views which appear in bourgeois ideologies as the result of the socialization process and the ideological and institutional systems of socialism and which in a certain sense objectively loosen bourgeois society appear nevertheless as a loosening directed against us.

Marxist ideological criticism will be truly effective, and let us add more on the offensive, if it does not stop at unmasking or criticizing individual ideologists or theories but rather goes to the root, to an analytical, radical criticism of social relationships, if the criticism of bourgeois theories is transformed into a criticism of the society of the theoreticians.

Several months have passed since the Wisla conference but the political processes which have unfolded since prove the timeliness of what was said at the conference, the timeliness of making Marxist ideology more effective and thus taking the offensive.

SOCIALIST IDEA OF WELFARE DISCUSSED

Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Sep 76 p 3

[Article by Erzsebet Toth]

[Text] The economist takes on an unusual task when he tries to answer the question: What is the nature of socialist welfare? It is an unusual question because until now we heard more about what does not fit the socialist life-ideal. The question is unusual, but not unexpected. It is so not only because without examining the economic environment our speculations and conclusions are somewhat sterile, but also because, for a long time now (from the beginning), the most important question has not been when and what sort of material acquisitions and what type of behavior we should condemn. True enough, in the public pressure affecting our standard-of-living policies we can discover elements which are influenced by ideologies alien to socialism and are far removed from our realistic possibilities. But, in those instances, ignoring or attacking such trends is not a socio-economic mistake; on the contrary, Dr Ferenc Kozma, the author of this book, believes that it is the assertion of such harmful trends that should be condemned. It is not enough to criticize the consequences, we have to find and destroy the causes. Let us move away from denials to assertions.

The basic tenet of the author of the book "Jolet szocialista modra" [Welfare in the socialist manner] is the recognition that our economic situation, our foreign trade performance depends on our living standard policies much more than it would appear at first. The thoughtless welfare policies of a few years can determine the distribution of the national income, the structure of production and the ratio and direction of technological development for several decades, possibly in a manner different from the basic aims of socialism. At the same time, the entire process can interfere with the strategic goals of our domestic and international economy.

It is a fact that in the ideology of revolutions the most undeveloped part was always the one dealing with the model of welfare, and the socialist revolution is no exception. In the new societal system, the speeding up of the economic and social developments and other burning tasks necessarily take precedence over the search for the quality of socialist welfare. As

soon as society is free of its major difficulties, however, it seems that there is no particular need for the development of a specific welfare-model, it is enough to provide general welfare, plenty of consumer products, security of life and cultural opportunities within the framework of a humanely organized society. According to another opinion, the principles of a welfare-model can be directly derived from the general ideas of socialism, and its significance can be limited to the sphere of consumption. It is obvious, however, that, just as we cannot copy the "consumer societies" of the West without endangering our vital interests, neither can we follow the puritanic principles which prevailed during the "heroic period" of revolutionary times, but we must also discard the misconceived ideas of egalitarianism. We should not strive toward a compromise between the two extremes, but rather toward the development of a different, better, more humane way of life.

"Peaks Leveled"

What could the new system do in the beginning? It changed the inherited relationship of distribution: it "leveled the peaks" of starvation and squalor on the one extreme and luxury on the other. Consequently, the field became narrower. The distribution of income in the socialist model can be charted by a "fatter" curve than that of the capitalist countries. Still, most of the large-income families having only one breadwinner are located at the lower end of the income scale, thus "fattening" the below-average statistics. At the same time, a significant portion of part-time incomes have a tendency to contribute to the above-average statistics. A certain correction is derived from the social welfare benefits, which bring about greater improvement among those with lower income. The difference between the consumption of the highest- and lowest-income families is also attributable to the fact that a part of the population is lacking in education: hundreds of thousands did not complete the eight elementary grades even after it became compulsory; many did not receive any vocational education in spite of the fact that in many occupations apprentice positions remain unfilled because of lack of applicants. The number of "migrating birds," those who work in one place for only a short time, is also in the hundreds of thousands. Low income among these workers is not without reason, even if they are not the only ones responsible for their fate. The situation is somewhat different in the case of elderly members of agricultural cooperatives, who work under unfavorable conditions, or in the case of those with low pensions, or that of low-income families with many children. "In this category, poverty is such a societal problem that its unsolvability deprives the entire community of the feeling of well-being." To sum up, the "correction" of the lower half of the national standard-of-living chart is not simply connected with wages or welfare measures: it demands action in the areas of work-force management, regional development, education, etc.

According to the author, we must provide dwellings, utility-services and basic food and clothing items at prices below production costs. Combined

with free medical care and education, this would serve to elevate the lowest income layer of the population to the level of "modest living." Luxury consumption must be limited by income and price policies.

Efforts, Passions

While searching for the reasons of distortion in the standard-of-living ideal, the author comments that the "petit-bourgeois" views inherited from the past are becoming less of a danger. Much more dangerous is, however, the life-view originating from the more developed capitalist countries, which reaches us through the media of Western propaganda; certain elements of this outlook have even been adopted by our socialist organizations and enterprises. "But if we look deep for the reasons behind the spreading mania for wealth-accumulation, we also find a number of unsolved social problems"--warns the author. He is talking about shortcomings, which society has been unable to solve in a rational and economic manner. The independent small businessman [the "maszek"] comes up as a solution, but this involves the spending of a lot of money, and even the highest-income level in society cannot earn that much in such a way that at the same time they can devote their energies to the most socially useful activities. On the other hand "at this level of its development our society still cannot provide opportunities for the utilization of everyone's talents. In many cases, the passion for status-symbols is the pitiful caricature of the natural human striving upwards." This is not far removed from "faking one's standard of living" by showing larger wealth than one actually has.

In just one generation, circumstances of life for the population went through such great changes, that neither their income, nor the availability of consumer products, nor the fluctuations in costs and prices could keep pace with them in a rational manner. It is a well-known fact that every able member in most families went to work, thus creating unprecedented demands on nurseries, day-schools and domestic help. Despite all efforts, these demands have not been successfully met. Millions changed their residences, the tradition of several generations living together was broken, families were founded at earlier ages and divorces multiplied.

A shortage of dwelling places is the primary hindrance to the rapid rise in our standard of living. In dwelling construction per 1,000 inhabitants, we are among the first in Europe. If we consider the numbers and requirements of satisfied inhabitants, the quality of dwellings also has improved. However, the number of unfulfilled demands for dwelling places has not decreased appreciably. We should increase the tempo of state investment in building, we should provide advantages for dwelling construction as opposed to the creation of luxurious shops, business districts and hotels; we should levy extraordinarily heavy taxes on luxury building by individuals; we should make the distribution of dwellings even more equitable; we should provide material incentives for small families and retired people to move to smaller apartments.

"The passenger car, from the point of view of its community role, is at least as complicated a 'being' as the weekend cabin or the suburban villa: realistic human necessity, hobby, status-symbol, one of the main sources of environmental pollution.... We should consider: what could we do to prevent its anti-social use, and how could we provide rapid, civilized mass-transportation, which could compete with the car."

In a More Organized, More Economical Fashion

"Well-planned and well-organized welfare is economical"---claims the author. In creating our welfare model, the prevention of waste is no small factor. The short life-span of consumer products, for example, is connected with the unsatisfactory quality of many products, and with the primitive repair network. We can also experience "on our own skin" the truth of that statement which claims that manufacturers and retailers are aiming only at the saleability of products instead of their social usefulness. A large part of our urban population lives in small apartments, yet our stores are full of sprawling living-room sets and gigantic washing machines; as a result, few people can furnish their 45-70 square meter apartments tastefully and in a practical manner. "In the planning of the family home, the urban designers, the architects, the furniture-manufacturers and the building contractors should work together.... Home furnishing should look good in their places of use, not only in the shop window. For the small apartment buildings, we should design communal facilities equipped with washing machines.... This requires a high degree of civilization rather than great investment. Unquestionably, it also requires an outlook far different from the ideals of consumer society."

Socialist type welfare is "investment-exacting." Yet, it can be realized without utopian thinking. We only have to follow the existing principles of our policies concerning our standard of living in a consistent, systematic manner. The 11th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party adopted a living standard policy which only strengthens the socialist elements of our way of life. What kind of results can we expect from the development of the "socialist model"? An increase in the satisfaction, civilization and community discipline of the population, which means an increased sense of collective and individual security. We can also expect that a greater part of the country's most valuable resources, the diligence and creativity of its people, will be liberated and strengthened. And we need this: Hungarian products appearing on foreign markets have been devalued by more than 25 percent in the past year and a half. We have no time to waste.

"Socialist type welfare can provide the conditions for technological progress to suit the latest demands of world economy. More and more value is placed on the export of energy- and resource-saving processes, products requiring greater technical know-how, and the export of complex product systems helping to solve society's basic concerns, e.g. those in the fields of food production, education, medicine, water management, and

transportation. The policy of production and technological development based on the unfolding of the socialist life-style, among others, demands just such system of high quality mass production from the Hungarian economy.... The creation of a socialist way of life is not merely the fundamental socio-political task, but also the only feasible route to follow in order to strengthen our economy."

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INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

EAST BLOC COOPERATION IN NUTRITION DESCRIBED

East Berlin PRESSE-INFORMATIONEN in German 14 Oct 76 p 3

[Article by Prof Dr Helmut Haenel, director of the Central Institute for Nutrition Potsdam-Rehbruecke of the Academy of Sciences of the GDR, and Prof Dr Hans-Albrecht Ketz, section chief]

[Text] The scientific cooperation in the area of nutrition research between the USSR and the GDR, which began more than 22 years ago on the level of first encounters, discussions, and reciprocal study visits, has reached a new, higher level during the last years. Numerous nutritionists from the Central Institute for Nutrition of the GDR Academy of Sciences have exchanged experiences with Soviet fellow experts, and studied modern Soviet research methods. Most recently joint research programs have concentrated on three main themes: In cooperation with the Institute for Nutrition of the Academy of Medical Sciences of the USSR, we are investigating a basis for obesity prevention and therapy. In parallel studies new dietary guide lines were worked out. Beyond this, joint reports on the results provide indications that in the future still further diet forms as well as specially composed foods will be developed in order to make possible increasingly better influence of risk factors through nutrition--factors which, for example, manifest themselves in the early stages of heart and circulation diseases or diabetes.

Together with the Institute for Elementary Organic Compounds of the USSR Academy of Sciences in Moscow, we investigated the structure of protein substances and their suitability for human nutrition. The nutrition researchers of Moscow and Rehbruecke together create important foundations for the processing of proteins in the food industry so that the supply of high-grade, healthful foods becomes still more polymorphic, abundant and appetizing.

Together with the All-Union Institute for Toxicology and Hygiene in Kiev, we are doing research on the effect of plant pesticides. Proceeding from the fact that more than 80 percent of all noxious foreign substances enter our body through food, we are investigating together, in laborious detail, the degree of harmfulness of certain pesticides in order to be able to determine the limits of the maximum contents of these substances. Further

research projects over and beyond this exist in collaboration with the Institute for Microbiology in Moscow, the Institute for Physiology in Leningrad, the Institute for Experimental and Clinical Oncology in Moscow, and the Petrov-Institute for Oncology in Leningrad.

Cooperation with other socialist countries is extensive as well. Thus, for example, we are carrying out biochemical investigations together with the Institute for Clinical and Experimental Medicine in Prague. Problems relating to foreign substances are included in the program of cooperation between the Institute in Rehbruecke and the Institute for Hygiene and Epidemiology in Prague. Research on enzymes links Rehbruecke with the Institute for Chemistry in Bratislava, and, last not least, there are relations with the Institute for Microbiology in Prague.

Joint work stretching over several years, for example in the area of flavor research, connects scientists at Rehbruecke with Bulgarian colleagues at the Institute for Nutrition in Sofia. The Central Institute for Food Research, the Institute for Research on the Economics of the Food Industry, as well as the Institute for Nutrition in Budapest, for years have been partners of the Central Institute for Nutrition in the areas of enzyme and foreign substance research, as well as the social foundations of nutrition.

Especially close cooperation exists with corresponding institutes in the Polish People's Republic. The links with the Institute for Nutrition in Warsaw should be mentioned in first place. We are working jointly on numerous scientific tasks: the problems of the relationship between increasing malnutrition and its public health and medical consequences having been given priority. However, flavor research, food supply for the community as a whole, nutrition sociology, research on foreign substances, scientific information service and other themes must be mentioned here. Jointly conceptualized efforts, publications, study sojourns, discussions within the framework of scientific events and further forms of information exchange are expressions of this successful cooperation.

Furthermore, the relations which have existed for 13 years in the area of carbohydrate research with the Agricultural Academy in Krakow and its Institute for the Foundation of Chemistry and Food Toxicology have been especially extended. Reciprocal longer-term work sojourns have created a common experimental basis. Interalia, the projects have led to three joint publications dealing with problems of phosphoric acid in potato starch and the resulting autohydrolytic phenomena.

A protocol on cooperation until 1980 and a specific work program place the contacts on a contractual basis. For years we have been working with the State Hygiene Institute in Warsaw on the basis of an academy agreement of the partner countries. In so doing, we are, for example, concerned with the valuation of plastics from the standpoint of food hygiene. At the beginning of the seventies success was achieved for the first time in working out mutually coordinated guidelines for the evaluation of special plastics from the point of view of health. These have received legal character in the meantime and contribute to the facilitation of the exchange of merchandise between states.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

CYPRriot PAPER REPORTS STRENGTH OF BALKAN ARMED FORCES

Nicosia TA NEA in Greek 19 Sep 76 p 4

/Text/ While in the southern Balkan area Greece and Turkey have launched themselves into a frantic arms race and are confronting each other with the finger on the trigger, a singular calmness continues to prevail in the rest of the Balkan nations.

It is said that after Tito's death the Warsaw Pact nations will exert political and military pressure on Yugoslavia--and if need be will invade it--in order to force it to return to the Eastern Alliance. The arming of the Balkan nations, however, does not point to any preparation for such an eventuality. Nor does Yugoslavia appear to be taking the necessary intensive and special measures for such a possibility.

Generally, the situation in the Balkan peninsula--except for Greece and Turkey--continues to show a steady detente with the lowest level of armament in the world. Compared to 1975, the changes that have taken place there in 1976 are miniscule.

The Figures Talk

By "Balkan nations" we mean Bulgaria, Yugoslavia and Romania. We could include Hungary since it is assumed that if indeed the Warsaw Pact machinery moves against Yugoslavia, Hungary and Bulgaria will provide the main bases for an assault against Belgrade. But what is the level of armament in the Balkans? The following tables tell the story:

<u>Country</u>	<u>Defense Spending</u> <u>in Million Dollars</u>	
	<u>1975</u>	<u>1976</u>
Bulgaria	475	438
Hungary	506	551
Romania	107	759
Yugoslavia	1,705	1,798
GREECE	1,035	1,230
TURKEY	2,200	2,800

It is clear that the defense expenditures of Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania are very insignificant compared to those of Greece and Turkey, even of Yugoslavia. In 1976 also the defense expenditures of these nations as well as those of Yugoslavia show insignificant upward changes.

Per Capita Defense Expenses
in Dollars in 1976

Bulgaria	50
Hungary	52
Romania	35
Yugoslavia	84
GREECE	138
TURKEY	70

This table shows also the low armament level of the Balkan nations.

Defense Expenses
% of National Product

Bulgaria	2.7
Hungary	2.4
Romania	1.7
Yugoslavia	5.6
GREECE	6.9
TURKEY	5.9

It is again evident that the arming effort of Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary remains unchanged. There is no upward effort which would be the case if they prepared for an attack. Let us now examine the military strength of each of these countries.

Bulgaria has 165,000 men under arms. The army has 131,000 men and includes 5 tank brigades, 8 motorized infantry divisions, 3 brigades of "Skud" missiles, 7 artillery regiments, 1 air transport battalion, 1 parachutist regiment, 2,200 old Soviet tanks of the T-34, T-54 and PT-76 types (1949-1952 models). It has very few modern Soviet tanks and, surely, if Bulgaria was preparing for serious military operations it would have replenished its armaments.

Bulgaria-Hungary

Compared to 1975, the Bulgarian Army has remained almost at the same level. There is only a slight increase in the tactical missiles of the "Scud" and "Frog" type. The Bulgarian Air Force has 22,000 men and remains completely unchanged. In 1976, it has 253 Mig-21 aircraft which are its main air strength. There are 22 bases of ground-to-air SA-2 missiles with 132 launchers.

The Bulgarian Navy has 8,500 men and has remained almost the same. Among its main craft it includes 4 submarines and 3 missile boats.

Hungary has 100,000 men under arms of whom 80,000 are in the army (a decrease by 10,000 compared to 1975), consisting as follows: 1 tank division, 5 motorized infantry divisions, 1 brigade of "Scud" missiles, 4 artillery regiments, 1 air transport battalion, 1,500 tanks (200 less than in 1975) all of which are of the old Soviet T-34, T-54 and PT-76 types. There was no improvement at all since last year.

The Hungarian Air Force shows a slight increase, from 108 in 1975 to 140 aircraft in 1976. This is due to the procurement of some tens of MIG-21 planes. The Soviet Union, however, did not provide Hungary with the famous Mig-23 (Flogger) fighter-reconnaissance planes which it now sells to Arab states.

Romania has 181,000 men under arms of whom 145,000 are in the army which is composed as follows: 1 division of tanks (1 less than in 1975), 9 motorized infantry divisions, 1 air transport regiment, 2 brigades of "Scud" type missiles, 4 artillery brigades, 2,070 old Soviet-type tanks.

The Romanian Air Force has 25,000 men and 320 aircraft (254 in 1975). The increase is due to procurement of some tens of Mig-21 aircraft from the Soviet Union. It does not have, however, any Mig-23's. It has 18 SAM missile bases with 108 SA-2 launchers.

The Romanian Navy has 11,000 men, 7 escort ships, 5 missile OSA-type boats and other craft of Chinese construction. Romania of course will not show any enthusiasm about its being used as a base for an attack against Yugoslavia. If it detected such a prospect it would have taken measures in the face of such danger. Its arming remains unchanged--and very low--a fact which shows that Romania does not face such a possibility.

But what is the situation in the country which is supposed to become a possible target? We mean Yugoslavia, of course, which has 250,000 men under arms of whom 200,000 are in the army. Yugoslavia has 7 tank brigades (a decrease by 3 compared to 1975), 9 infantry divisions, 28 artillery regiments (6 are anti-tank), 2 mountain brigades, 1 air transport battalion, 2,200 old-type American and Soviet tanks. There was no change in materiel since 1975. The Yugoslavia Navy has 20,000 men (a brigade of marines), 5 submarines, 4 escort ships and 10 OSA-type missile boats.

Albania's Strength

Albania's Air Force shows an increase from 270 planes in 1975 to 320 in 1976. This increase is due to the procurement of some tens of Yugoslav construction fighter planes (Galeb Sastreb). Its main power lies in its 110 Mig-21 fighters. Its paramilitary force includes 1,000,000 men and women. In the meantime, Yugoslavia does not show any armament fever as it

will have to should it face any danger. Albania has under arms 47,000 men with 36,000 in the army, which consists of 1 tank brigade, 2 tank battalions, 8 infantry brigades, 6 artillery regiments, 140 tanks. Its navy has 3,000 men, 4 old Soviet submarines, 42 torpedo boats (Chinese and Soviet). The air force has 8,000 men, 96 aircraft including 12 Mig-21's of Chinese construction.

In general, the Balkan countries have maintained in recent years a steady picture of coexistence with maximum friendly relations and minimum armament.

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EAST GERMANY

DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM IN SOCIALIST DEMOCRACY ANALYZED

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[Article by Dr Harald Schliwa, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Department, SED
Central Committee's Institute for Social Sciences: "Socialist Democracy and
Freedom of the Individual"]

[Text] Freedom of the individual can emanate only from the social nature of man and its historical development. The greater maturity of nationalization of production, of the collective collaboration of producers and of the organization of labor in a developed socialist society lead to decisive demands being made of the development of the personality. The standard by which socialist democracy is measured derives not only from a comparison with bourgeois democracy but from the manner in which socialist democracy makes possible the mastery over the laws of its own socialization.

In the successful balance sheet of social development in the GDR which it was possible to draw up at the Ninth SED Congress, the progress in the democratization of our society occupies a prominent place. The manifold character of this progress alone testifies to the degree of the development which has taken place in this field. It ranges from the significantly increased initiative of workers in socialist competition (obligations in the counter-project, initiative shifts, notes concerning the plan, personally creative and collectively creative plans), via an increase in innovator activity, an increased sense of responsibility of workers regarding inadequacies in production and more effective cooperation of enterprises and territorial state organs, to greater responsibility of people's representations and mass organizations and to broad support of the work of protective and security organs of the socialist state by the population. This development has a most fundamental philosophical content. It shows in a concrete historical manner how the working class, collective farmers, the intelligentsia and other working people, under the leadership of the Marxist-Leninist

party, have become subjects of history acting consciously and in a planned fashion. It clarifies the level of the mastery over the laws of one's own socialization, bearing witness in an important field of social life to the progress of freedom of socialist society.

On the basis of, and dialectically connected with, the development of social freedom, a deepening of the freedom of the individual has taken place. But this must not be apprehended in a simplified manner, for instance to the effect that as a result of the further development of social freedom--because of a general dialectical connection, as it were--the freedom of the individual is deepened likewise. Rather, it is a question of the apprehension of new factors and phenomena manifesting themselves in the dialectic of society and the individual during the formation of a developed socialist society, and also being reflected in the manifold connections of socialist democracy and freedom. The new factors provoke a general trend: the greater quality of collective cooperation of socialist producers predicated on the further development of socialist production relationships and socialist democracy necessarily causes greater demands to be made of socialist effectiveness and of the capabilities of personalities. A higher level of socialization objectively leads to greater influence of the individual in social development.

This general trend evidently also is the basis of the fact that problems of the socialist personality, its activity, its consciousness, its character and of individual life style are receiving increasing attention. In the arts, in the sciences and in other spheres of the intellectual life of society, this attention is reflected in manifold ways--a deeper plumbing of the individual's intellectual world, its conflicts and its relations with society, a more intensive occupation with problems of education, a more complex, interdisciplinary approach to research into the elaboration and development of an all-sided personality. In ideological work, this trend is reflected in the fact that in the solution of practical questions in the various spheres of social life a sense of responsibility and ability and readiness to perform on the part of individuals play a far greater role. For a constructive attitude toward this trend, it is indispensable to understand its origins. These consist not simply in the development of the personalities proper but in a higher state of development of the social forces of production and socialist production relationships. Decisive demands as regards the development of the personality derive from the greater maturity of the nationalization of production, of collective cooperation of producers and the organization of social work, which are attained and developed further in a developed socialist society. The scope and intensity of economic intertwinements, the greater effectiveness of the causes being mobilized also by the individual producer as a result of the enormous state of development of the material-technological basis of our economy, the greater extent of the international effects of the labor of a growing number of people and numerous other factors objectively increase the value of labor and the individual's social activity. It follows logically from this that the extent to which the

individual can meet the increased demands depends on the degree of development of all aspects which make up the personality.

A further cause derives from the attained level of the satisfaction of needs and the new possibilities of the unfolding and self-development of personalities in shaping a developed socialist society. With increasing clarity, the development of socialist production relationships, perfection of socialist democracy, increasing education, increased material well-being and other conditions affecting the formation of a personal life style lead to a socialist way of life. This way of life is characterized by active participation in the direction and solution of social affairs, by relationships of true equality of rights, freedom and social security. "Thus increasingly more favorable conditions are created for the all-sided development of the personality in society."¹ In this process, the challenge is being increased of everyone to use the new conditions of socialism in a manner serving the development of the personality, its creativity and its ability of attaining satisfaction. There are no recipes or readymade solutions for this. Not only the shaping of social life but, to an increasing degree, also the shaping of one's personal life requires creative striving for a life content and form corresponding to the new possibilities of a developed socialist society. These processes naturally expand the content of the freedom of the personality.

The mentioned accomplishments in the field of historical and individual freedom and, connected with it, the greater demands in the new phase of the further shaping of the developed socialist society require a more comprehensive theoretical examination of the political prerequisites of the further development of the freedom of the individual. An essential aspect of the social superiority of socialism in this connection consists in the fact that socialist democracy not only insures the freedom of the individual in all its aspects but propels it decisively in its development. The socioeconomic conditionality of freedom in socialism is transmitted politically through the dictatorship of the proletariat, which of course at the same time constitutes the broadest democracy for the workers. Conversely, socialist democracy can bring its historical character fully to bear only because society and personalities are free in their actions. These connections, in which the historical development of democracy and freedom and socialism is finding clear expression, require a quite different class-governed and philosophical approach than do the bourgeois theoretical attempts. These are based on positions of individualism and apologia of capitalist ownership and want to instruct socialism on how the freedom of the individual must be established. When we deal with problems of democracy and the freedom of the individual, we do so not in order to do any catching up--as bourgeois ideologists of various schools would make one believe--but in order to elucidate even more clearly what has already been accomplished in history, to pinpoint the historical distance from unfree capitalist society and to tackle new problems. The establishment and development of the freedom of the individual is among the most important historical achievements of socialism and its superiority over capitalism.

The freedom of the individual in socialism consists in a historically new quality of his action and behavior. It is characterized by the fact that through his work and social activity, he participates creatively and successfully in the social process of the increasing utilization and implementation of the social laws. On the basis of this, it incorporates moreover the unfolding of creative abilities, the best possible development of physical and psychological forces and a reasonable way of dealing with them. Further, "freedom consists not in a dreamed-of independence from the laws of nature but in the apprehension of these laws and in the possibility, thus afforded, of having them take effect in a planned manner for definite purposes. This is true both as regards the laws of external nature and as regards those laws which govern the very physical and intellectual existence of man."² Freedom of the individual can only emanate from the social nature of man and its historical development. Accordingly, it develops along with the progressing socialization and the consequent social energies of society. "Just as man is social by nature, so his true nature develops only in society, and the power of his nature must be measured not by the power of the individual but by the power of society."³

This realization concretizes the scientific apprehension of the freedom of the individual in manifold respects. First, through the existence and the struggle of classes in social systems and eras characterized by these phenomena, the social nature of what is individual becomes concretely pronounced in history. In the theoretical regard, the doctrine of the class struggle makes it possible to "reduce what is individual to the social plane."⁴ In class societies, individuals are class individuals; that is, they belong to social strata. The freedom or lack of freedom of these individuals is determined by the historic position of the social class concerned, by its historical possibilities and tasks. Politically, the freedom of the individual is also always dependent on the economic and political conditions of power, and thus on the given historic type of democracy and on the position of the class concerned in that democracy. If the political conditions of power are disregarded, it is not possible to come up with any meaningful statement whatever about freedom. The attempt of bourgeois political scientists and sociologists to characterize "modern political thought" as "competition between the mutually exclusive monistic and pluralistic theories of democracy"⁵ betrays the intention of denying the class nature of every democracy--and thus the fact that personal freedom or lack of freedom are class predicated--and, through the discussion of competing bourgeois conceptions, making the bourgeois approach appear as the only legitimate and authentic one. The alternative of "monism or pluralism" is shown to be an abstract scheme because neither the class-governed nature of social, collective and individual interests nor its concrete dialectic in the social order concerned are analyzed.

Secondly, freedom in the sense of mastery of the laws of one's own socialization is realized only under conditions of the existence of social

ownership and the political power of the working class. It presupposes a state of productive forces in which further development proceeds only in production relationships which eliminate the exploitation of man and competition as a governing social relationship, which demand comradely cooperation. Before socialism, the progress of freedom takes place in the struggle of progressive classes for implementing what is necessary historically. This frequently was at the same time a struggle against the lack of political freedom. Before socialism, historical necessity is made to prevail in the struggle of opposite trends and within the framework of the spontaneity of all of society. In socialism, the realization of what is historically necessary coincides with the incipient rule of the laws of one's own socialization. Therefore, with the socialist revolution the working class makes the "jump of humanity from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom," with necessity not ceasing to exist when it becomes freedom. From this connection derives, of necessity, the higher historical quality and social capacity to perform on the part of socialist democracy compared with that of bourgeois democracy. The standard by which socialist democracy is measured, therefore, results not from a comparison with bourgeois democracy but from the manner in which it makes possible the mastery over the laws of one's own socialization.

Marx first fitted the qualitative difference consisting in the connection of bourgeois revolution and freedom, on the one hand, and proletarian revolution and freedom, on the other hand, into the differentiation between "political" and "human" emancipation. The political emancipation of the bourgeois revolution frees man of his personal dependence and lack of freedom in feudalism, but at the expense of his entanglement in material dependence on capital. This bourgeois type of personal freedom is realized politically through bourgeois democracy, which at the same time expresses and practices the economic power of capital as the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. The "human emancipation" of the socialist revolution eliminates the enslaving subordination of the proletariat and all exploited people to the capital relationship, overcoming the material dependence and economically caused lack of freedom and realizing, under the leadership of the working class and its conscious advance guard in the hard class struggle, the mastery of society over its own socialization. Politically, this can be insured only through an historically new type of democracy. Mastery of the laws of one's own socialization presupposes an association comprising the great majority of the people and representing its organized action. Precisely this is offered by socialist democracy, which at the same time represents dictatorship vis-a-vis the bourgeoisie--politically and economically stripped of its power--or vis-a-vis any domestic and foreign forces which try to tamper with the interests and freedom of socialist society. It follows from this entirely novel historical task that socialist democracy cannot merely be a further development of bourgeois democracy. It represents a completely new type of democracy both in respect to its class and economic bases and as regards the qualitatively higher content of freedom, which the working class must implement with its assistance.

Thirdly, the social conditionality of the possibility or necessity of the freedom of the individual is reflected in his personality,⁶ in the productive abilities of the individual in the labor process, in the shaping of social relations and in the way of life. "As a personality, man is the personification of social relationships."⁷ In capitalist society, in this respect the social conditions on the part of the working and exploited classes and strata do not exist or exist only in a very limited degree as far as the free development of personalities is concerned. Whereas, on the one hand, the modern productive forces and the attained degree of nationalization of production cause the trend toward creatively capable personalities, capitalist production relationships, on the other hand, create boundaries for the development of this tendency which cannot be crossed. "In bourgeois society, capital is independent and personal, whereas the active individual lacks independence and is impersonal."⁸ Therein lies an essential economic root of the formal nature of bourgeois democracy. The capital relationship constantly reproduces a dependent and thus unfree personality. "It is only in community (with others that every) individual has the means of developing talents in all directions; only in community is personal freedom possible. In the previous surrogates of the community--in the state, etc--personal freedom has existed for individuals who had developed in the relationships of the ruling class and only insofar as they were individuals of that class. The seeming community in which individuals have united so far, always became independent vis-a-vis them and, at the same time, since it was the association of one class vis-a-vis another, not only was a quite illusory community but also a new chain as far as the governed class was concerned. In the true community, individuals attain their freedom simultaneously in and through their association."⁹

Individualism is the result of economic and political conditions of the capitalist society. At the same time, it consolidates it ideologically because, as a result of the historical development of the social systems based on private ownership of the means of production, it finally appears to the individual as the natural, normal essence of the personality. In capitalism, "the various forms of social connections confront the individual as a mere means for his private purposes, as an external necessity."¹⁰ The social essence of the personality seems to be confirmed in the private sphere. Personal life and political life exclude one another. "Therefore, we have here the typical separation of private person and citizen, the objective contrast between state and citizen, state and society, personal and social life, the social and the humane element."¹¹ Bourgeois democracy corresponds to this historical type of personality and is also enlisted in the political and ideological class struggle of the bourgeoisie against the working class with a view to preventing the rise of revolutionary personalities in the proletariat, i.e. personalities which see precisely in the politically organized connection of the members of their class the means for erecting a society, after the revolutionary elimination of capitalism, in which the social character of the individual in socialist production relationships and in socialist democracy is not only acknowledged but is developed free of any restrictions.

The decisive economic prerequisite of the freedom of the individual is the rule of socialist production relationships, which founds freedom of exploitation and free labor for itself and society. Both prerequisites are created and insured by the dictatorship of the proletariat, which of course simultaneously represents democracy for the working class and its allies. "To be exploited and to be free are two things which are mutually exclusive. Freedom for the workers comes about only when exploitation ceases, with socialism."¹² This truth has been proved by the course of history despite all attempts of the bourgeoisie and its ideologists at social corruption and ideological obfuscation and is experienced increasingly consciously by a continually increasing mass of workers in the capitalist countries. Nevertheless, it remains a basic axiom in all deliberations concerning human freedom. By "truly free labors," Marx understood labors whose "social nature is determined" and which, "scientifically speaking, at the same time are general labor, not an effort of man as a force of nature trained in a certain way but as a subject which appears in the process of production not in a merely natural, elemental form but as an activity governing all natural forces."¹³ The social nature of labor is determined by the agreement between the high degree of nationalization of production and social form of appropriation in the form of socialist production relationships. Politically and organizationally, this agreement is realized in the direction, planning and economic stimulation of the economy in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism on the basis of the interests of the working class and the common interests of the workers.

The connection between free labor and the freedom of the personality consists in the fact that, first, the creative forces of the individual through the socialist production relationships actually become part of the power of society and, conversely, the individual experiences this social power not as a limitation but as an expansion of his own forces. Secondly, the social and scientific nature of labor equally makes possible and demands the "self-realization of the individual."¹⁴ In socialism, the first phase of the communist formation of society, this economic connection between society and individual is put across necessarily through the dictatorship of the proletariat and socialist democracy. "The general power of the socialist state for the first time is communal power, constituting a social basis in which the individual finds himself confirmed."¹⁵ From this derives the realization, decisive for ideological work, that the development of the individual into a free personality is not possible without a conscious and active relationship of the citizens with the socialist state. Socialist democracy effects and demands the elaboration of the fundamental condition of the freedom of the individual--active social action and behavior. It reflects, in the form of immediate political demands being made of the individual, the historically completely new relationship between society and personality, caused in the last analysis by the socialist production relationships.

Connected with this is a further condition of real freedom of the individual in socialism--a growing mastery over oneself. Freedom, say Engels, "Consists...

in the mastery over ourselves and our external nature based on the realization of natural necessities."¹⁶ To the superficial observer this aspect of freedom appears to be independent of social conditions. This point of view is supported by the indisputable existence of unique, unmistakable individual qualities and talents and by the experience that the degree of freedom over oneself, despite essentially equal social conditions, becomes pronounced in different ways in individual personalities, that there is even a lack of freedom in some instances. More careful analysis shows, however, that freedom over oneself by no means is a prerogative of indeterminism. It rests on the economic, political and spiritual foundations of socialism, on the realization of social necessity and on identification with these factors. As a result of the socialist production and power relationships, implementation of the social necessities is the outcome of social cooperation. Thus the individual experiences the fact that the degree of mastery over himself at the same time determines the extent of the self-confirmation and self-realization of his personality. Under the conditions of capitalism, competition and spontaneity cause the wrestling for mastery over oneself in the form of individualism to become a surrogate of personal freedom and to be reflected in corresponding bourgeois illusions of freedom.

The social determinateness is also manifested in the fact that the social freedom of socialism indispensably demands mastery of the individual "over himself" (Engels) as a mass phenomenon. "Thus, in order to harness the elemental forces of nature and society, people not only must know the objective laws determining the course of development of the material world but, in their own interests, must attune the dynamics of their own forces to a reasonable application of these laws, i.e., subordinate the nature-given forces of man to reason."¹⁷ It should be added, first, that it is a question here not only of the nature-given forces but surely to an even greater extent of the "inherited" and acquired forces of the personality and, secondly, that reason ought to be comprehended more concretely as the knowledge of the objective laws and personal identification with their requirements. These deliberations make it possible to uncover the philosophical background of the educational and self-educational processes in socialism. For socialist education is not "cross-determination," "encroachment of the freedom of movement of the individual," let alone destruction of the human individual, as the ideologists of anticommunism would have it, but a social process in which agreement is established between mastery over nature and one's own socialization on the one hand, with the rule of personalities over themselves, on the other. Since both are interdependent, education and self-education are part of the realization of freedom.

At this point the humanist and social-creative nature of socialist democracy is proved once again. For its realization in the form of its active participation, oriented toward common aims, in directing, planning and realizing the social processes at the same time is a comprehensive educational process. It is characteristic of it that workers are both subject and object--differentiated individually, of course, according to experience, ability to perform and socially sanctioned authority. This state of being differentiated varies constantly insofar as precisely the development of men into true

subjects of social and personal life is the aim and result of educational processes in socialism. Therefore, if we look at the dialectic of social and personal freedom, socialism knows no division of society into educators and people who merely must be educated; rather, the "revolutionary practice" under the political leadership of the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party is, at the same time, the social educational and self-educational process. Its basis is socialist democracy, which insures its socialist and therefore humanist nature.

This yardstick also clarifies the historical boundaries of bourgeois democracy in regard to the personality. On account of economic bases, bourgeois democracy, in light of its class character and its formal character, is not at all intended to be an instrument of the "self-realization of the individual." It insures exploitation and consolidates the "isolation of the individual in society," thus bringing about the opposite of what Marx understood by the self-realization and freedom of the individual. Bourgeois-democracy and freedom demagoguery speculates on the identification of individualism and actual freedom of the individual. It articulates a claim to freedom corresponding to the economic position of power of the bourgeoisie and the lack of ownership and power of the proletariat. Only insofar as the working class in the class struggle utilizes, with the weapon of its organization and consciousness, the bourgeois-democratic rights for limiting the power of the monopolies, do these take on a content pointing beyond a bourgeois nature. But only when it conquers political power does the working class produce socialist democracy as a qualitatively new historical type.

Philosophically speaking, the further formation of the developed socialist society incorporates the further development of social and individual freedom. In this complex process, socialist democracy occupies an important place. "Just as true democracy is impossible without socialism, so socialism is impossible without constant development of democracy."¹⁸ The conclusions deriving from this for the development of the freedom of the individual become clear if the historical essence of socialist democracy and its perfection in the further formation of the developed socialist society are analyzed. "Socialist democracy is a system of the organization and functioning of the state and the entire political system of socialism, founded on the fact that the citizens and the workers associations are given broad rights and freedoms, that conditions are created for their real implementation and for attracting the masses to active sociopolitical activity and that the mechanism of the direction of society is perfected systematically for the purpose of consolidating the positions of socialism and successfully building communism."¹⁹ The perfection of socialist democracy is the principal direction of the development of the socialist state, but in its breadth it exceeds the state forms. It follows from the very essence of the dictatorship of the proletariat as the political power of the working class, and from the consequent unity of state and society, that socialist democracy is not

only a form of the organization of state direction but a principle of the socialist practice of the working class and all workers and of the functioning of socialist society as a whole and its various spheres.

There is a direct connection between socialist democracy and the development of the freedom of the individual. It may be characterized as a type of political organization and social relations "which makes it possible constantly to raise the labor enthusiasm and the social activity of workers and to develop the personality in all its aspects."²⁰ This connection therefore also finds expression in the fundamental determination of tasks for the further development of socialist democracy. "We comprehend the perfection of our socialist democracy above all as an uninterrupted insuring of the increasingly broad participation of the workers in directing all affairs of society, as a further development of the democratic bases of our state character, as the creation of the conditions for an all-sided development of the personality."²¹ The most important subjective factor for insuring the essence and further development of socialist democracy is the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party. Since it is guided by the objective laws of social developments and since in its political decisions it concentrates and incorporates the fundamental interests and needs of all classes and social strata, all nationalities and peoples, all generations of the Soviet society,"²² it is in a position to unite the activity of the numerous organizations of the workers on the basis of common aims. In this sense, the role of the Marxist-Leninist parties in each of the fraternal socialist states is carried out.

The ability of the party to recognize the common interests of the class and strata and, on the basis of this, to elaborate policy is of decisive importance for the essence of socialist democracy, for its function in the system of the utilization of social laws and for the development of the social activity of collectives and personalities. With the further formation of the developed socialist society, more favorable conditions arise in this regard. To the extent that the unity of economic and social policy makes it possible to satisfy increasingly well the material and intellectual-cultural needs of the workers, to that extent the creative activity of the workers in the solution of enterprise and communal problems of the whole of society increases. The community of basic interests consolidates and deepens. Just as important is the consideration of the fact that along with the increasing material and intellectual maturity of socialist society the manifold and differentiated nature of interests increases. This is the result of the ever-increasing material and intellectual-cultural needs of people and the better possibilities of satisfying them. This dialectic of growing agreement and greater variety of interests makes higher demands of the leadership activity of the party and opens up new possibilities for the democratic activity of workers. Consideration both of the common and of the differentiated interests in the solution of the most varied problems more than ever demands creative deliberations, broad participation of the workers in the realization of decisions.

There are several consequences of this for the development of the freedom of the individual. First, socialist democracy in this way does justice to the initially mentioned trend of the higher level of socialization leading objectively to a greater weight of personalities in social development. The action of the individual becomes freer insofar as, owing to the increasing community of interests, it is based even more purposively on social requirements. Further, the subjective readiness for social participation increases because increasingly manifold personal interests can be brought into agreement with the realization of social interests. This makes it clear that the subordination of personal interests to social interests is subject to change. Although fundamentally it exists as before as a requirement of the conscious utilization of social laws, both objectively and subjectively to an increasing extent it takes the form of agreement of social, collective and personal interests. At the same time, individualistic interests, oriented toward bourgeois standards, come into increasingly drastic conflict both with social interests and with personal interests, which are becoming more manifold and differentiated. This process also reflects the elaboration of the specifically socialist way of life.

There are further consequences for the development of the consciousness and the formation of character of the individual. The broad participation of the workers in the direction, planning and realization of social processes must serve the organization of social development, the rationality and effectiveness of decisions. The value of socialist democracy is to be measured not only by the extent of the masses participating in the solution of enterprise and communal affairs of the whole of society but by how thoroughly and how rapidly matured problems are solved and positive changes are made. It is characteristic of the democratic participation of the citizens that their effectiveness--and thus also the degree of freedom of personal action--while it must contain specialist knowledge and professional qualification, never suffices by itself but always requires social insights. From this follows the fundamental importance of social-scientific realizations for the freedom of the individual. This subjective aspect of the social-creative nature of socialist democracy cannot be assessed too highly, for to a considerable extent it decides to what extent the historical possibilities of socialist democracy for the freedom of society and the individual are exhausted. The new program of the SED therefore sets the party the task "of equipping the working class and all workers with the revolutionary ideas of Marxism-Leninism, of elucidating the party's policy to them, of developing their socialist thinking, feeling and action, of mobilizing them for the solution of tasks and of arming them against any influences of imperialist and bourgeois ideology."²³

Social and personal freedom cannot be realized without organized action, discipline and sense of responsibility. These demands being made of the consciousness and behavior of the person reflect both the dialectic of necessity and freedom and the connection between freedom over external nature and social laws and freedom over oneself. In socialism, "for the first time responsibility becomes practically a phenomenon of historical

necessity."²⁴ In the process of the further shaping of the developed socialist society, as a result of the greater dimensions of the economy, of the growing nationalization of production, of the increasing weight of the qualitative factors of production, of the dialectic of the national and international development of socialism and the class confrontation with imperialism, the responsibility of personalities toward society, as a criterion of socialist morality, will increase to a significant extent. The effectiveness of socialist democracy likewise is affected by the extent to which conversely it is an indispensable component of those social processes in which this higher level of responsibility will develop

Of great importance for the further development of the freedom of the individual is the comprehensive nature of socialist democracy. "The strength of socialist democracy consists in the fact that it penetrates all spheres of social life and fertilizes to an ever-increasing extent the activity, the expert knowledge, the creativity of people for the benefit of society."²⁵ This fact of socialist reality came about historically as a result of the increasingly effective utilization of the social laws of socialism and, at the same time, is a constant prerequisite of the conscious shaping of society as a whole. This has opened up for the individual far-reaching possibilities of creative participation in enterprise and communal affairs of the whole of society, with the place occupied by him in social life, his concrete activity, being an indispensable foundation.

An expression of the comprehensive nature of socialist democracy is the dialectic of representative and direct democracy. As regards Marxist-Leninist understanding of democracy, there is no choice between these two aspects of socialist democracy. There is no difference between them in regard to the question as to which aspect is more appropriate to the essence of our democracy. Only the dialectic of both aspects implements the deep democratic quality of socialist society. Their connection and their mutual complementation derive from the structure of the total worker of society, from the dialectic of the whole and the parts in the social organism. Only if this dialectic is taken into consideration can social development be mastered to an increasing extent by the socialist state and the social organizations, and the utilization and realization of the social laws be insured. This dialectic is directly connected with the freedom of the individual. Only in this way can it be realized. Without the social connection and without the individual being an active subject in this connection, the individual can neither orient his activity toward what is socially necessary nor shape and experience his personal activity as mastery of what is necessary. This is, however, indispensable for the "self-realization of the individual." Only in this way does the socialist personality realize its sovereignty, its actual independence and freedom.

FOOTNOTES

1. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, Berlin, 1976, p 53.
2. F. Engels, "Herrn Eugen Duehrings Umwaelzung der Wissenschaft" [Mr Eugen Duehring's Revolution of the Sciences], K. Marx/F. Engels, Works, Vol 20, Berlin, 1962, p 106.
3. F. Engels/K. Marx, "Die heilige Familie" [The Holy Family], K. Marx/F. Engels, Works, Vol 2, Berlin, 1962, p 138.
4. V. I. Lenin, "The Economic Content of the Popularizing Trend and Its Criticism in Mr Struve's Book," V. I. Lenin, Works, Vol 1, Berlin, 1961, p 424.
5. D. Oberndoerfer, "Volksherrschaft" [People's Rule], in "Die neue Elite" [The New Elite], Freiburg im Breisgau, 1975, p 11.
6. "The term 'individual' characterizes man as a representative of the homo sapiens species, determining the complex of his natural characteristics. The term 'personality' designates man as a member of society, determining the sum total of his social characteristics. Under the term of 'individuality,' on the other hand, man is understood in his combination of natural and social characteristics." (I. I. Resvitsky, "The Concept of Man's Individuality," SOVIET SCIENCE, SOCIAL SCIENCE CONTRIBUTIONS, No 3/1975, p 274.)
7. Ibid, p 276.
8. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Manifesto of the Communist Party," K. Marx/F. Engels, Works, Vol 4, Berlin, 1959, p 476.
9. K. Marx/F. Engels, "Die deutsche Ideologie" [The German Ideology], K. Marx/F. Engels, Works, Vol 3, Berlin, 1962, p 74.
10. K. Marx, "Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen Oekonomie" [Outlines of the Critique of Political Economy], Berlin, 1953, p 6.
11. G. Haney, "Die Rolle Der sozialistischen Demokratie bei der Herausbildung sozialistischer Persoenlichkeiten: [The Role of Socialist Democracy in Developing Socialist Personalities], in "Staat, Recht und Demokratie bei der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [State, Law and Democracy in the Formation of the Developed Socialist Society], Berlin, 1974, p 128.
12. Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the Ninth SED Congress, Rapporteur: Comrade Erich Honecker. Berlin, 1976, p 111.

13. K. Marx, "Grundrisse der politischen Oekonomie," p 505.
14. Ibid.
15. G. Haney, "Die Rolle der sozialistischen Demokratie bei der Herausbildung sozialistischer Persoenlichkeiten," loc cit, p 133.
16. F. Engels, "Herrn Eugen Duehrings Umwaelzung der Wissenschaft," loc cit, p 106.
17. D. Kerimov/Y. Chekharin, "Socialism-Democracy-Ideology," Moscow, 1973, p 244.
18. CPSU 25th Congress, Accountability Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Next Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policy. Rapporteur: L. I. Brezhnev, Berlin, 1976, p 105.
19. D. Kerimov/Y. Chekharin, "Socialism-Democracy-Ideology," p 52 f.
20. "Gegenwaertige Probleme der sozialistischen Demokratie and Perspektiven ihrer Entwicklung" [Current Problems of Socialist Democracy and Prospects of Its Development], in "Probleme des Friedens und des Sozialismus" [Problems of Peace and Socialism], No 3/1975, p 386. The connection between socialist democracy and the personality is also viewed similarly by W. Weichelt: "The content of democracy is the organization of the conscious and planned cooperation of all workers, based on socialist ownership of the means of production and freedom from exploitation and suppression, for safeguarding their common interests, on the basis of which man's personal talents and abilities can unfold and personal interests can be fully and lastingly realized." (W. Weichelt, "Staat, Recht und Demokratie bei der Gestaltung der entwickelten sozialistischen Gesellschaft" [State, Law and Democracy in the Formation of the Developed Socialist Society], Berlin, 1974, p 19.)
21. CPSU 25th Congress. Accountability Report of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Next Tasks of the Party in Domestic and Foreign Policy. Rapporteur: L. I. Brezhnev, p 105.
22. Y. Andropov, "Leninismus--die Wissenschaft und Kunst des revolutionaeren Schoepfertums" [Leninism--the Science and Art of Revolutionary Creativeness"], NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 23 Apr 76, p 3.
23. Program of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, p 66.

24. S. F. Oduyev, "Freiheit, Notwendigkeit and Verantwortung: [Freedom, Necessity and Responsibility], DEUTSCHE ZEITSCHRIFT FÜR PHILOSOPHIE, No 4/1976, p 406.
25. Report of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany to the Ninth SED Congress. Rapporteur: Erich Honecker. p 113.

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

EVANGELICAL SYNOD ISSUES STATEMENT ON CHURCH'S POSITION

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE ZEITUNG in German 1 Oct 76 p 6

[Declaration of the Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR on Causes and Effects of Pastor Bruesewitz's Self-immolation]

[Text] The Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR issued the following statement in East Berlin on 30 September 1976: The Synod of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR received the written and oral reports of the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders. They describe the work of the conference and the secretariat of the Federation during the period from 1 October 1975 to the beginning of the Synod's 1976 convention.

Since the causes and effects of Pastor Oskar Bruesewitz's self-immolation were the focal point of the nonpublic discussion of the two reports in the Synod's plenary session, the following statements refer especially to the questions thereby raised. In this connection the Synod thanks the Conference of Evangelical Church Leaders for the letter to the parishes, which is felt to be a help in clearing up the events in Zeitz and their effects. It appreciates the fact that this letter was unanimously adopted as a sign of the solidarity of the Federation of Evangelical Churches in the GDR.

The Synod asks the Conference not to abate their efforts to discuss matters with the authorities in the educational sector. The tension between the assurance of freedom of belief and conscience on the one hand and the educational objective of the communist personality in the uniform socialist educational system on the other requires a thorough clarification which must become effective for the children and young people of our parishes. At the same time the Synod asks church leaders, pastors, church workers, and parents to strive on all levels for an atmosphere of tolerance in which children and young people can live unmolested as Christians. At the present time, discussion of the following areas seems urgent: information, administrative and parish levels, ministering to the ministry, path and mission of the Church.

1. The Synod regrets that it was impossible for the churches' Sunday papers to reprint the letter from the conference of Evangelical Church Leaders. As a result, objective information could not be made available to the parishes in this way. Since it is the duty of the church leaders to make their conduct and decisions plain and understandable to the parishioners, it is incumbent on them to give quick and accurate information. In many cases the impression arises that church leaders often base their actions on tactical considerations, whereby it no longer becomes clear that the word of God stands over every situation. The Synod is aware that clarity in word and deed is not to be equated with confrontation. It is part of a mutual exchange of information that the parishes should be enabled to communicate their positive experiences and their difficulties in helping to form the socialist society (e.g., hearing, visiting weeks, information conventions).

2. Service as church leader and in the parish takes place on different levels but has the same mission to fulfill: bearing witness to the gospel in the world. The difference in tasks results in a different view of things, and therewith tension naturally arises. This tension has often been a burden to us, but it can also be made fruitful, in that we preserve each other from excessive farsightedness or nearsightedness.

3. We have been made emphatically aware of the problem of isolation. None of us, no matter where he stands, can perform his duty alone, without encouragement and helpful criticism, from whatever side it may come. Many have been saved because they have recognized their neighbor and found a group which supports them. "For where two or three are gathered in my name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. 18:20). We must discover anew that the parishioners have a great duty toward the pastors and church workers. A feeling of failure and listlessness is to be observed in many places. In the depths of our perplexity we seek new answers.

4. The Synod of the Federation formulated reflections on the path of our church in 1971 in Eisenach. Since then "church in socialism has been an oft-used phrase among us. There is a danger that it may become nothing but a phrase. Then alienating misunderstandings arise. Reflection on the question how we can be a church in socialism must become more intensive. Our task is constantly to think it over anew, to give it substance, and thereafter to verify it. It must be thought through and carried through again and again in the freedom and obligation which comes from the gospel. We are certain that the movement into which the gospel takes us, to be a church in our given society, is right.

We have had to discover that this recognition has not become enough of a reality in our churches and parishes. This also applies to the actions of church leaders. We have not yet learned to speak and act to one another in ways which are plain. Different interpretations and views among us have thus far been insufficiently discussed on the most various levels. As a result many feel that they are not taken seriously. We will have to ask

what it means to be the church of a Lord who has made the stigmata of Good Friday the sign of his lordship and whether we affirm the defenselessness of his lordship and the poverty of the means through which it is realized.

Again and again we succumb to the temptation to miss the real mission of the church, to be together a church for others. This should result in making the solidarity among us stronger and more protective. No one should remain alone and decide alone.

Simultaneously solidarity among one another involves openness and breadth. We act as a church in that we simultaneously reach our troubled neighbors and the sufferers throughout the world through prayer and deed. We will have to learn ever anew to maintain this simultaneity.

8992

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SOCIALIST ORIENTATION DEFINED AS FUNCTION OF PASTOR

East Berlin STANDPUNKT in German No 10, Oct 76, pp 257-259

[Article by Pastor Christoph Koerner, Mittweida: "A Pastor's Social Task"]

[Text] Time and again, in Christian and non-Christian circles, one encounters the question: "What is the social task a pastor has in our socialist social order?"

It is a question that has been given much attention within the last 30 years, yet it is my personal experience that the question still appears to be evaded within the clergy rather than confronted concretely. For that reason I should like to stress three essential aspects that have become important to me in my profession as a pastor and which could serve as impulses for forming further awareness.

Finding his tasks essentially in his pastoral duties and preaching, a pastor thus has a special responsibility to the people and the society in which he lives. This being so, a pastor in the GDR cannot evade the question about his social task in socialism, for true-to-life socialism in the GDR is the social order within which he has to fulfill his task.

Yet what does that mean concretely? The first aspect I should like to formulate as follows:

(1) To take Marxist pronouncements seriously and illuminate them in the light of the Gospel.

Time and again it can be observed within church groups that statements and pronouncements by Marxists and their Marxist-Leninist party are either ignored or negated. Either way, it reveals lack of social responsibility and indicates that Marxist statements are neither taken seriously nor illuminated in the spirit of the message of Christ.

I would like to explain that by use of a concrete example.

In the emphasis coming from the Marxist side that in the ideological domain there can be no coexistence some Christians suspect an attack upon the

Christian faith and evidence of Marxist intolerance. In fact it happens quite frequently that members of the congregation will refer to the formula "there is no ideological coexistence" for their own excuse and for reinforcing the political aversion they have as persons. It is an attitude that cannot be supported by the message of Christ. If the Marxist statement that there is no coexistence in ideology is taken seriously and regarded in the light of the message of Christ, one can see that it is no unfriendly act against Christianity but, on the contrary, the only sound practical basis for the Christian faith in the world.

Throughout the history of Christianity it could be observed time and again that churches and Christianity would constantly form alliances with certain ideologies, thus obscuring the Christian mission in the world. Recall the alliance between throne and altar throughout the centuries right down to the terrible attempt at corrupting the message of Christ by the national-socialist ideology of the so-called German Christians.

In our state, where ideological non-coexistence and the strict separation between state and church are facts, the Christian faith has been given a genuine and objective foundation for its existence.

Such relevant understanding is however not yet taken for granted within the church everywhere. I see a task here for the theologian and pastor in making this understanding generally acceptable within our Christian population. For precisely on the basis of the strict separation between the Marxist world-outlook and the Christian faith a good cooperation becomes possible in the social sector between Christians and Marxists.

We Christians thus should take seriously what is stated on page 447 of the textbook "Einfuehrung in den dialektischen und historischen Materialismus" (Introduction to Dialectic and Historical Materialism), published in 1972 in Berlin, to wit: "The ideological opposition between Marxism-Leninism and religion thus by no means prevent Marxists and Christians from working together in fellowship and friendship and from respecting and helping each other in the fulfillment of their common political, economic and social goals which, based on socialism, are profoundly humanistic."

This also keeps perfectly relevant still today what our first President Wilhelm Pieck said during his program speech to the Free Germany National Committee on 15 June 1944 before clergymen and others: "We communists consider such cooperation between communists and Christians not only possible, but urgently needed. . . . We know there is much distrust and misunderstanding between communist and Christians and many people are much interested in inciting such distrust. It has turned out, however, that those difficulties can well be surmounted by joint, unprejudiced collaboration."

That experience, as articulated by Wilhelm Pieck in 1944, is something many Marxists and Christians have become aware of in the course of years. And still there are Christians who have not yet found their proper place in our socialist society. Thus let me mention the second aspect of the social task the pastor has.

(2) To initiate learning processes within the church by which the members of our Christian community can find a sound point of view for living in our socialist society.

It is stated in the status report of the synodal conference of the League of the Evangelical Churches in the GDR held in July 1971 in Eisenach:
"The synod has been asking itself how the church can bear witness and perform its service in socialist society in such a way that it is not against the others but for them."

This indicates the direction in which the pastor can find his social task. He has to help the members of the congregation in finding their position and, doing so, carry out a special responsibility.

But what would that amount to in practice? Here again I should like to underscore my thesis by an example. As there are still members in our community who believe the Christian faith could better be materialized in a capitalist social system than in a socialist social system, the pastor has the task to overcome such a non-Christian thesis as it cannot be supported from the vantage point of the message of Christ.

A theologian and pastor who truly lives through the message of Christ, making it the measure of all his actions, will, on the contrary, understand -- and will have to make a point of it when addressing his fellowmen -- that the Christian love for one's neighbor can more credibly be realized within the social structures of socialism, as testified to by many -- more credibly than within capitalist structures.

That is why a Christian can fully and completely feel as an integral part of a socialist social system. Here he is given a place of equality along with all others who think differently. This is the thing we have to make fully conscious among the members of our community so that they will commit themselves in good faith, as Christians, to our socialist social order and look for ways of effective participation.

That this also applies to the future is something the SED program issued at the Ninth Party Congress, in contradistinction of what had been stated in the first draft of it, prominently and pithily emphasized. Recall what Prof Kurt Hager said about this program at the Ninth Party Congress:

"The citizens' participation in state and economic management is more and more becoming a decisive criterion for life under socialism. The party proceeds from the proposition that this decisive basic right is guaranteed by the socialist state, as much as all the other political freedoms and social rights, to all citizens, regardless of race or nationality, or of their world-outlook, religious persuasion or social position. This complete equality of all citizens in our society has been expressed still more precisely in the program, in conformity with the GDR Constitution, pursuant to a number of petitions submitted."

That this complete equality between Marxists and Christians is put into effect in practice, in all areas, is something we all have to take care of, each in his place and in his sphere of responsibility.

By taking seriously Prof Kurt Hager's pledge, another aspect of the social task for the pastor and for every Christian in our state arises, which I would like to formulate as follows.

(3) To support all activities in which practical cooperation becomes possible between Christians and Marxists for the good of the people.

In his status report to the Ninth Party Congress, SED Central Committee General Secretary Erich Hager said this: "As communists we are consistent proponents of peace. That follows from the very nature of our cause. Peace is a basic precondition for the continuing successful construction of socialist and communist society. Its preservation is as important for all mankind as our daily bread." These are sentences spoken from the heart of every Christian. That is why all activities shared by Marxists and Christians which serve this common goal of peace and social justice have to be supported.

This also includes activities serving peace and justice in other countries. I am thinking here of the various solidarity operations on behalf of oppressed people in Latin America, South Africa and the Near East.

As an example I wish to refer to the material and political solidarity operations undertaken by the Christians and the churches in the GDR on behalf of the oppressed and persecuted in Chile. Here too, the Evangelical Students Communities in the GDR excelled, finding a mission in this from the very first hour. Altogether, the Christians Students World League has committed itself here on a broad level, thereby demonstrating its genuine social commitment.

Distressing as the Chile example must be for all peace-loving people to this day, the Christians and Marxists have found themselves strongly united in their resistance struggle against the military junta. A point made by the West Berlin theology professor Helmut Gollwitzer in his article "Lessons From Chile" is this:

"Christians and Marxists have found each other in Chile in recent years. . . . In this alliance Marxists have recognized that Christianity can provide a revolutionary potential and need not be reactionary. That should have an effect on us. Thus far only capital has profited from the quarrel between the Christians and Marxists."

Professor Gollwitzer's words speak for themselves. They illuminate that, irrespective of their world-outlook, Christians and Marxists are called upon to commit themselves jointly, with all their strength, to the cause of human society.

EAST GERMANY

FDJ PARTICIPATION IN EAST BERLIN HOUSING CONSTRUCTION DESCRIBED

Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 20/1976 pp 11,12

Text The Free German Youth (FDJ) is to be engaged in the new construction and expansion of housing in East Berlin as "the largest youth project up to now." According to GDR reports, 12,000 "young people in blue shirts from the capital and bezirks of the republic" gathered on 22 September 1976 in East Berlin in Leipziger Strasse, as the start of the central youth project "FDJ Initiative Berlin" was made there, in the former center of the old capital of the Reich. The plans are to build 200,000 to 230,000 new apartments by 1990 and to modernize an additional 100,000 apartments in East Berlin.

FDJ Chairman Egon Krenz already announced the new initiative by the GDR youth organization at the 10th parliament of the FDJ in June 1976.

"'FDJ Initiative Berlin' means the organization of important investment plans in the capital as youth projects, in particular in construction, in the energy and water supply, in transportation and in the postal and telephone services. For this we want to start the necessary initiatives in the supplying and cooperative enterprises, particularly in the areas of machine-building, electrical engineering/electronics, construction material and glass and ceramics industries;

"'FDJ Initiative Berlin' means the assignment of the best youth brigades of all bezirks to investment and construction projects in Berlin;

"'FDJ Initiative Berlin' means winning outstanding young skilled workers, masters, engineers and architects from all bezirks of the republic for the start of a corresponding job in our capital."

Of the 300,000 to 330,000 apartments which are to be built by 1990 in East Berlin through new construction or expansion, more than 75,000 are on the housing construction program for 1980, which is now to be carried forward with the assistance of the FDJ.

While the greater part of the new buildings will be built in the north-eastern part of the city in the new Ninth City District, the areas in the old city center, previously neglected by housing construction, are also to

be included in the apartment construction program. Specifically mentioned were Friedrichstrasse, Leipziger Strasse, "including construction at the Spittelmarkt and rebuilding of the Gertrauden Bridge," as well as the Platz der Akademie and the former Gendarmenmarkt, "which will be recreated in its original form with the former Theater." In the old Gendarmenmarkt, as in the area around the Spittelmarkt, there has scarcely been any change since the end of the war. There are still many ruins.

Not very many hundred meters from these areas of rubble are the Palace of the Republic dedicated in the spring and the pleasure park which serves as parade grounds, as well as the grand avenue Unter den Linden with the Opera House, the Arsenal (now Museum for German History), the memorial, university and the embassy of the USSR.

At the start of the FDJ initiative, Egon Krenz declared that the youth project did not only encompass helping in the expansion of Leipziger Strasse, but also the building of supply facilities in the Lenin Allee/Ho-Chi-Minh-Strasse area and the contributions in the new Ninth City District. The FDJ will also help in building the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer park, where a three-story complex is being created which contains a foyer, two large halls, pool, recreation hall, and rooms for study circles and working groups. Finally, FDJ members are also engaged in the construction of the panel factory on Falkenberger Strasse, which is to begin production next year.

In the past, the FDJ has often undertaken large construction projects as "youth projects," when the assigned -- too small -- work force could not fulfill the plans. As early as not quite a year ago, in November 1975, Konrad Naumann, first secretary of the SED bezirk leadership in East Berlin and a member of the SED politburo, criticized that there were defects in the housing construction and the projects connected with it in East Berlin. NEUES DEUTSCHLAND reported that Naumann "argued critically about the unsatisfactory course of the complex housing construction on Leipziger Strasse." Naumann characterized it among other things "as a violation of the existing decisions of the district leadership, when completion of the supermarket meant to serve this area is delayed and essential changes in the use of the open areas are undertaken without consulting the population and a children's playground is 'rationalized' away."

According to the statements of FDJ Chairman Krenz, more than 3,000 young FDJ construction workers will be employed in East Berlin by the end of the year, "and next year many friends will again travel to the Berlin construction sites." In the last days of September, youth brigades from Rostock, Potsdam, Erfurt, Gera, Neubrandenburg, Karl-Marx-Stadt and Schwerin came to East Berlin. The FDJ Initiative Berlin also includes FDJ groups from the over 130 supply enterprises which deliver material and construction machines to the East Berlin construction projects.

EAST GERMANY

BRIEFS

CRITICISM OF ADVANCED SCHOOL--In a speech before leading functionaries, Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR minister for advanced and technical school affairs, sharply criticized the achievements of the educational institutions subordinate to him during recent years. Many of his comments concentrated on problems involving the "communist education" of students. Among other things, Boehme criticized the fact that the schools had still not met with success in developing Marxist-Leninist convictions in all students. He attributed this to unsolved tasks, work backlogs, and obstructive misconceptions in education. He said that a main problem was that the need of many students for more exacting discussions of matters of interest to them was not given adequate consideration. Furthermore, he stated that "some students" failed "to comprehend fully" the SED's policy and to derive therefrom conclusions for their own work, study attitudes, and social activities. In this connection, Boehme criticized the professors and docents, some of whom neglected to include ideological education as apart of their lectures. The minister was also not very enthusiastic about the technical value of many lectures. Boehme urged the professors to adopt a "more critical attitude" with respect to the research achievements of GDR advanced schools. He said that greater efforts would be required to achieve internationally significant results. [Excerpts] [Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German 25 Oct 76 pp 2-3]

CSO: 2300

RESULTS OF PARTY MEMBERSHIP CARD EXCHANGES EVALUATED

Budapest TARSADALMI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 10, Oct 76 pp 3-15

[Article by Istvan Koncz: "A Continuous Exchange of Ideas With the Party Members--More Effective Party Work"]

[Text] The exchange of party membership books is not yet completed but we have reached the concluding phase of the highly significant series of events. Naturally what has happened thus far was not simply an administrative process but rather an extraordinarily important political review, the mobilizing effect of which points beyond what had to be done directly in exchanging the membership books to the next phase.

The most significant motif politically was the individual, person-to-person talks with party members which took place everywhere in the spring and early summer. The party primary organizations or middle-level guiding party committees summarized the lessons of these at membership meetings or at meetings of their organizations. But this cannot at all mean putting "into the archives" the material collected in these some three-quarter million conversations. The opportunity for every communist to express his or her opinion essentially at one time about the policy of our party, about the national and local (place of work, place of residence, territorial, branch of industry) realization of that policy, about the activity of his or her party primary organization and his or her activity therein and to make proposals for the improvement of work and party work, all this taken together has greatly enlivened political activity and given birth to a good public feeling. The ordered and evaluated collection of recommendations and observations is a great and useful ideological treasure and intellectual capital.

The conversations were an exchange of opinions by party members with equal rights and thus, in accordance with their purpose, gave extraordinary strength to the ideological, political and action unity of our party membership. There was an intense expression in them of the love of the communists for the party, of their loyalty and commitment, the profound feeling of belonging to the party, and not only feeling but the desire and readiness to act. It would be a waste to be satisfied with merely

registering this liveliness, good public feeling and desire to act, because then the liveliness, intensity and internal tension would soon decrease. A powerful political and ideological energy source for the party organizations has been uncovered and this surely can and must be used in the party work of coming years!

Naturally the party organs and party primary organizations themselves must seek out and find concrete, local, "tailored" opportunities and methods for exploitation of the conversations, the road leading from the conversations to action, and they must do this independently and in a creative manner. But perhaps it would not be unprofitable if we were to join in this circle of common thought and make a tour, without trying for completeness, of the chief points of crystallization in the talks.

I.

Let us begin the analysis with that most obvious and most general experience which we have already mentioned in the introduction. The great majority of our party members received the conversations sincerely and readily with agreement and good feeling, took part in them with great responsibility and expressed their desire that they be repeated in the future in some form. Some thought that they might be held every year or perhaps before the party congresses or maybe at the beginning of each five-year-plan cycle. There were those who asked that there be a special resolution to this effect.

We do not want to anticipate but we should note what is clear to us all, that the conversations can be repeated without any special resolution, they can be continued or, to speak more precisely, they can be made continuous. Our organizational by-laws not only permit this but their entire spirit really encourages it. Without taking time and energy from other tasks (naturally care must be taken in this regard!) it would be worthwhile to create everywhere a means whereby the leading members of the primary organizations (or maybe party group officers) could sit down from time to time to talk separately with the comrades. This should be done with that frequency and according to a schedule which the possibilities of the primary organization permit, as politically needed, in their opinion, at given places and times, or as the party membership demands. All this is a matter for careful local judgment. Nothing could be more unprofitable than to start from a correct, just and politically useful demand and rigidify the practice of personal conversations into a formal system. (Of course, this "danger" is far from threatening us at the moment.)

We should not forget at least two facts in connection with the generally expressed desire. One is that personal conversations are not something entirely new or a method never before used by party work. As a method it has always been a self-evident organic part of party work. More than one

primary organization has made regular use of it in practice, primarily in preparation for the membership meetings which summed up the year's work. But it is also true that elsewhere and in many places such practices have been used in recent years rarely or not at all or in a haphazard or formal way. The other thing which we should note in connection with this is that the happy and joyful reception given the personal conversations in some places expresses a feeling of lack by the membership and betrays weaknesses in the comradely contacts in the community involved. So there is no need for a "new method" but rather there is need for the restoration, where lacking, of the normal atmosphere of a communist community which includes individual conversations.

In whatever concrete form it was presented, every such proposal ultimately expresses the spoken or unspoken demand for strengthening personal efforts and personal responsibility in party work, for strengthening the personal character of contacts in party life. By means of the authorized conversation groups the communists expressed, could express, could express personally their opinion "to the party." There, in that hour, in that gathering of six or eight, it was the opinion of that party member which was important; his activity, his political-ideological-moral behavior was in the balance; the policy of the party was reflected in his perception of it, the national and local realization of that policy--whether the reflection was valid or perhaps less clear.

Proceeding on this path we find further related opinions. Many demanded, for example, regular personal evaluations of the activity of communists, at least at the year's end report membership meetings. This was a just demand for many party organizations neglect this at their report membership meetings. (Indeed, even now, this was missing in many places from the reports of the membership meetings summing up these conversations.) Some of our party members and primary organization leaders are much too shy of the method of open personal recognition or criticism before the plenum of the membership meeting. It is done only in specially justified individual cases. They are afraid of the "consequences," of offending someone. But we should note that the more rare open evaluations of persons become the more likely it is that there will be a sensitive reaction if such a thing finally happens. So there is an inverse ratio. Because where open speech is the accustomed "normal" style, where they name not only things but persons, there is minimal or no breeding ground for feelings of offense. Not only do the self-evaluation of the party members and the opinion of the community about them come closer together but there is a more certain development of a unity of requirements, a unity of political-ideological-moral norms, and a common standard. Of course the content of the evaluation should be well-founded and its mode or style should be as calm as possible, objective and free of emotions because, naturally, this, too, is a condition for its achieving its true goal instead of giving offense.

The demand for strengthening the personal responsibility of party members appeared in observations connected with party assignments. Many reported the successful fulfillment of their party assignments but they criticized the often formal nature of the party assignment or exercised sincere self-criticism to the effect that they carried out the party work undertaken only formally or with weak effect. Many asked for party assignments but added that these should really be personal assignments, if possible connected with some party resolution, and that the leadership should ask for reports on their fulfillment from time to time.

It is not enough for us to examine these proposals in themselves in isolation. From the viewpoint of drawing the local conclusions and defining what is to be done it would be very productive if we compared them to another group of observations. Namely with those which dealt with organizational and substantive questions of internal party life, of the activity of the primary organization. The membership meetings should be made more substantive and at a higher level, they should be well prepared for; the membership should receive more continuous information not only about national questions (they get that!) but also about local questions; there should be more independently initiated agenda items at the membership meetings. Burdens should be distributed more proportionately among the responsible officials in the primary organization leadership; the secretary should not do everything but should delegate more of the work to the other members of the leadership. The weight and significance of the party organization should be increased in the life of the place of work or residence; it should be capable of more effectively representing and realizing the policy of the party and local realization of resolutions. The work of the party groups should be made more lively and more systematic in accordance with local opportunities. The primary organization or the party group should be forged into a real community. Their internal attraction and cohesion should be strengthened; human contacts within the organization should be improved. And so forth. We are thinking of innumerable such and similar observations and recommendations. We might even list here those apparently "individual" wishes (for they reflect on organizational life as well) which, for example, were aimed at caring more for elderly party members or ending the anomalies which can be found in some places in regard to moral recognition, including awarding decorations.

It is not our task to deal here in detail with all this item by item; it follows from the nature of the thing that it can be decided only locally what observation "fits" and where it does not cause a problem. We should call attention rather to a more profound and generalizable lesson.

What is involved in the final analysis? On the one side an emphasis on the communist personality. And on the other side an emphasis on organizational life, the communist community.

But we cannot help but observe that these two groups of demands coming from within the communists actually spring from one root. In essence they

were speaking about the same thing, those who urged that local organizational life be made more regular and substantive and that the community character of the primary organization or party group be strengthened and those also who "only" asked for more attention or for more party work for themselves or others, more interest and care, respect for the personality of a person, of a communist, expressing itself in the posing of higher demands, too. Only a superficial view would see here differing views and tasks. It is really two sides of the same thing, two sides which mutually presuppose one another, the dialectic of community and personality in the area of party work.

In its policy the Communist Party, the vanguard uniting the best of the worker class and the working people, rests on the masses; but the masses consist of people. Therefore this policy is profoundly humanist, people-centered, not only in its great and long-range goals but in the methods of party work. It is a fundamental Leninist principle that every member of the party must belong to some organization, must do party work as a member of some primary organization; for only an organized political force can be capable of action and only an organization capable of action is capable of having a real effect on social reality. Therefore it is the first obligation of every party member to participate in the activity of his primary organization. He has personal responsibility for fulfillment of his party assignment and the party expects from him a personal example, that he personally represent the policy of the party. Every communist has his own responsibility. But those who carry out their party assignments while standing in some leading post of political, economic or cultural life, and thus have or could have greater than average influence on reality, have increased responsibility, too. They are responsible for their actions and for their moral behavior as well, for how they represent and how they realize the policy of the party in their own areas.

The political accomplishment of a party organization is made up of the individual accomplishments of its members; but this is not a simple mathematical sum of these individual accomplishments but rather much more than that, just as the strength and holding ability of a rope is not identical with the mere sum of the capacity of the fibers in it taken separately. But the opposite is true, too: it is not only the strength of the fibers that is multiplied in the rope, their weaknesses also can be "multiplied" and can appear magnified. It is not by chance that just today, when we are striving to build a developed socialist society, with our tasks more complex and more stratified than ever before, our party is turning great attention not only to a continuous improvement of the work of party organs and organizations but to the activity and behavior of individual party members, of communists, building on their initiative and discipline, on their example and personal bearing in representing our ideals and policy. "The level and effectiveness of party work are determined in large measure by how the work proceeds in the front line of implementation, in the primary organizations." We can read this in the record of the 11th congress,

in the report of the Central Committee, and a few lines below we find the following well-known words: "Before one becomes a communist...he must think over his decision well. But if he has already thought it out he must carry out what he has undertaken. To be a communist does not mean a comfortable assignment but before all else responsibility, work and struggle; it means selfless service to the ideal of communism, to the worker class and the people."

It is completely obvious from these words that the increasing tasks of building a developed socialist society demand the deploying of the many-sided capabilities of the communist personality. The members of the vanguard are fighters, but not faceless members of an army; party members are not simply standardized screws in some executive machine but living, flesh-and-blood men who can effectively struggle for the realization of the policy of the party only with their best human abilities.

So the level of the work of the party organization and the level of the work of the party members are inseparable and have the closest mutual effect on one another. Where they regularly sit down to talk with party members, where they ask for their opinions and recommendations on an individual basis, there activity and creative initiative will not be missing from the membership meetings. Where the individual knows that the observing eye of the community is on him, where he is asked to report on his everyday work and where he is asked to take a personal stand and provide an example, where there are individually tailored personal party assignments to carry out resolutions and where the fulfillment of these assignments is supervised, there the ideological-political-action unity of the organization will be at a high level. Where personal contacts are imbued with directness, comradeship and solidarity, there the organization will form into a true community and party life will have rich emotional content and intensity. And the reverse of all this is true, too, looking at the mutual effect from the side of the community, only the communist community can ripen the personality into a real communist. He who has participated in a real, enthusiastic membership meeting where the passing of the hours was not noticed under the influence of the experience, he who has participated in winning some local struggle of a primary organization and has felt almost tangibly what the leading role of the party means not only at the level of "high politics" but "down below" in the front line of political struggle, he does not have to be told how the communist community can raise and educate its members and forge them into communists.

Strengthening organizational life and the awareness of personal responsibility can have only one goal, to make the party organization capable of leading in its sphere of effectiveness. That it should live the more in daily tasks, breathing with the masses. Great damage is caused by turning inward, by separation from non-party people, from the collective of the place of work, from the local population, by a self-serving organizational life. For the internal strengthening of the party organization has meaning

only if its mass contacts are thus strengthened. Of course, the opportunity for this is much greater if the organization is stronger because, to use a simile from physics, if the internal attraction and cohesion increase, then the "gravitation," the mass attraction, increases, too; or, to return to our theme, the communist community has an attractive effect on the entire surroundings, carrying them with it. The primary goal of the exchange of party membership books was the strengthening of ideological-political-action unity. Obviously this goal points beyond itself; through the realization of the leading role of our party it serves a better discovery of all the internal energy of our society, it serves the building of the developed socialist society. Thus, in the final analysis, we can and must use the experiences of the conversations in the realization of the chief goal of the membership book exchange.

The Organizational By-Laws as modified by the 11th congress of our party demand more emphatically than before a personal stand from the members of the party, a personal representation of our policy. Naturally, this requirement is built on the personal contacts of the party members; in their surroundings, among their fellow workers, friends, acquaintances or even strangers, they must stand up for and represent with their example and convincing words, must explain our policy and win others to our cause. In a paradoxical fashion I might say that there is a need for mass contacts speaking to individuals, in addition to other forms of strengthening mass contacts, more in our present circumstances than before.

II.

Logically perhaps it would have been better to start with that which occupied first place in the conversations and which has the greatest significance. Virtually every party member uniformly expressed his or her profound agreement with the policy of the party. This imposing manifestation of agreement is a gigantic source of strength. It means that our party membership is not only an executor of the policy of the party but also, thanks to the strengthening democratism of party life according to the "rules" of democratic centralism, is a creator of it; this is why the members know and feel it to be their own. In the past 20 years this policy has won the trust of the communists and of the non-party people with its openness, its democratism, its humanism and its consistency; by the fact that while its methods constantly change and are renewed and adapt to changing circumstances and increasing tasks, its essence remains unchanged, its line straight. This is why this policy is fundamentally supported not only by our party membership but by the great majority of our working people, naturally at different levels of awareness and action readiness. (It is characteristic that even those who for some personal reason submitted their intention to leave the party or those whom the party organizations expelled or erased from their rolls for neglecting organizational life, for example, did not fail to emphasize this [support for the party's policy].) In ever renewed everyday struggle the members of the party have

again and again won support for the policy of the party, thus strengthening their own commitment to the policy represented too.

In regard to the party primary organizations it could appear from the first glance, when summarizing the lessons of the conversations, that we cannot and must not derive directly practical tasks from this agreement. Simply "recording" good feeling but "further action not needed." In reality it is very necessary for the consistent pursuit of this policy that our party have such mass "feedback" in regard to the policy, such signals as were manifested in the period of the 11th congress, for example, and a year later so strikingly in the spring conversations.

But this "feedback" also gives strength to each of the party organizations. This manifestation of approval of the policy is an ideological-political base building on which they can struggle even more consistently for the realization and local application of this policy, for the execution of the party resolutions, primarily the congress resolution, which make this policy concrete, for a better fulfillment of the direct local tasks following from them.

In addition the party organizations must analyze in detail these affirmative opinions which approve of our policy because, as we mentioned, this fundamental agreement manifests itself at various levels according to the individual awareness, ideological armament and action readiness of each person. We can say in general that where there were debates even there those debating agreed in the fundamental questions. In addition, naturally, there were those who proclaimed their reservations in part on questions, generally not on grounds of principle but based on subjective experiences--often, for example, "reservations" stemming from having been slighted or offended. Some party members unwillingly betrayed during the conversations that they knew our policy only "in broad outline"--their knowledge being superficial, not sufficiently profound or basic--and so the agreement or reservations they expressed were not sufficiently convincing. Or, even if such agreement was sincere, it was less valuable and useful as a source of political energy. (Of course the primary organization leaderships should pay attention to this phenomenon and do everything to teach and enlighten these comrades.)

However every primary organization must define for itself the immediate tasks deriving from these and similar experiences. In any case the facts indicate that some comrades unjustly disguise imagined or justified personal injuries as "political reservations." Such personal matters are not pleasant for any primary organization; it would be better to clear them up as soon as possible in a determined and principled fashion. In addition, member admission work has improved much in the last few years; this trend must be preserved and continued. Earlier, in certain cases, they obviously admitted some new members to our party in haste and without circumspection; they were not adequately prepared and they were not made

acquainted with the policy of our party in a basic way. Continuous and detailed instruction concerning the goals and methods of the party's policy noting the priority and timing of tasks is in any case an indispensable part of the propaganda activity of the primary organization, not only for non-party people but within the party membership, too. So this is a direct and practical conclusion for every primary organization.

Opinions expressed about policy were summarized at the membership meetings of the primary organizations and forwarded to higher party organs. It is true that there was great variation in the substantive level of these membership meeting reports. Some contained only generalities and thus expressed the opinion of the membership only in broad outline and indistinctly. But there were a good number which did this concretely and in detail and in an analytical manner, reports from which one could see the devoted attention and respect being given the membership.

The democratism of party life requires that the members of the party have the opportunity to participate in the development of policy with their opinions and proposals. Expressing an opinion within party frameworks, at a suitable time and place, is not the same as arguing after the fact with valid party resolutions, which is not compatible with the Lenin norms of party life and which the 11th congress of our party sharply criticized as a mistaken practice once permitted in a few places. Proposals coming from below are naturally compared by the selected party organs called on for a decision with broader, more general and thus better-founded experiences and will be used or disregarded after careful consideration. This is what is required by the centralism of party life. But whatever the concrete fate of the individual proposals, the person making the proposal must certainly receive an answer and in most cases they have or will. That sincerity, responsibility and trust with which the communists answer the questions of the party prescribe as a command the same responsibility and devoted attention from the party organs giving the answer.

The some 750,000 communists have formed opinions not only about the principles, goals and methods of our party's policy but about the realization of this policy. The first and generally characteristic note in this respect also was one of appreciation. The participants in the conversations evaluated as a realization of the policy those indisputably great achievements which our working class and our entire working people, with the leadership of the party, have attained in all areas of social, economic and cultural life, not only in regard to the historically significant development of 20-30 years but in regard to the outstanding achievements and profound changes of recent years.

It is natural, however, that the communists (simply because they are communists!) turn more attention to the road before us than to the road already behind us, more to the difficulties to be overcome and to the

problems to be solved than to the successes already achieved. More than a few spoke with dissatisfaction and impatience about the realization of the policy of our party and about the execution of resolutions. What lesson should the party organizations draw from these statements?

It is obvious that "impatience" in itself is not a category or form of political behavior which can be defined or evaluated. "Impatience" can be positive or negative; or, as people say, there is healthy impatience and unhealthy, productive and barren, a paralyzing impatience and one based on acts, an impatience which inspires one to struggle and one which suggests faint-heartedness. It is now the not easy task of party organizations and organs, when sketching the application of the lessons, to look deep and with great differentiation into these opinions.

We must see that because the party resolutions are not carried out adequately always and everywhere the same demand, a demand at a higher level, may appear in the healthy impatience, in the criticism of errors which have occurred, as pervades the entire activity of our party. This mood of the party membership synchronizes and has a "common denominator" with the diligent struggle and political work of the leading organs of our party. At the same time there may be exaggeration in these opinions. It is a fact that execution is not good enough, fast enough, consistent enough or effective enough in all places and this must be corrected with diligent work. But the policy of our party is being realized fundamentally in its entirety and this is what is decisive! The primary organizations must point this out in their mass political and propaganda work.

With all this, naturally, we must say that these opinions have an element of truth; there is that in them to which attention must be paid. A no small part of the everyday efforts of our party are directed just at this, that policy should be better and fuller at every level and point, in every branch and territory; that the resolutions should be correct and that their execution should be consistent. Coinciding with these efforts is that sort of impatience which seeks and finds in its own house and in a self-critical manner (or, what is the same thing, with demands upon itself) possibilities for better execution, not casting aspersions on others and primarily not shifting the responsibility on "unknown factors" in a completely paralyzing, pessimistic and at the same time superior indolent manner. But this cannot mean that only self-criticism has a right to exist while criticism does not, that he who sweeps before his own door has nothing to do with others. Just as ill-founded, exaggerated and generalizing, demagogic criticism lacking all concrete elements is useless and harmful, so is it impermissible to immediately reject "hide and hair" all criticism without examining what is true and capable of solution within it. And it is also impermissible for those on whom the improvement of work primarily depends to turn a deaf ear to well-intentioned criticism, or to "receive" criticism only with words while silently neglecting to

carry out what is contained in it. Where, for example, there are fundamental work or organizational problems it would be hypocritical and completely ineffective to simply preach about the work morality of the workers. Where measures are needed, territorial, branch or enterprise measures, the leading organs must take measures in the interest of better realization of the resolutions and where one need "only" catch the happier end of the work, there it must be caught.

In party work criticism and self-criticism supplement and presuppose one another; they cannot replace one another nor can they be opposed to one another. In their action plans prepared on the basis of the conversations and in their longer range political programs alike the party organs and the party primary organizations support themselves on the communist criticism and self-criticism. In both they should encourage that initiative-taking and action-ready impatience which assumes responsibility for the local execution of resolutions, the truly revolutionary, communist enthusiasm, and should turn it into political energy--action!

A very respectable part of the content of the conversations turned, starting from the problem of realizing the policy and carrying out the resolutions, to concrete local or on-the-job problems. This is understandable and good. In general, direct personal experiences authenticated the observations and the majority of them, naturally, were not being voiced for the first time. It would far exceed the frameworks and tasks of this article merely to hint in outline at those critical observations and concrete remedial proposals which were made in regard to local, major or minor, but concrete deficiencies in work and plant organization, internal work force management, work discipline and work-time use, tool use, material supply, quality, management, leadership methods and style, factory democracy, moral recognition and material incentive, distribution according to work, labor competitions, the socialist brigade movement, etc. And even then we would not have spoken about the thousand branching observations of communists in productive jobs, ranging from office administration through health services to cultural facilities. Obviously a similar mass of locally pertinent opinions and recommendations is available to every primary organization. The primary organizations placed these useful recommendations "on the balance," ordered and approved them and developed them into an action plan. Now it is time for execution.

We would now call attention to only one circumstance or danger in connection with this. The party organization itself should not try to carry out the direct, operational, practical economic tasks deriving from the lessons of the conversations. It should not take over from the economic leaders of the place of work that which is their job. There are established principles and methods for local party guidance of economic work and these must be employed. The surest guarantee of the execution of the action plans is if they have been prepared or are being prepared with the inclusion of the economic leaders or social organs, if the party organs and party

organizations discussed them with them and if in these plans everyone has his own concrete task coordinated with the tasks of others. The communist economic leader is an equal ranking member of the primary organization who has personal responsibility before the primary organization for his work and actions and for carrying out the tasks prescribed for him. In addition, the primary organization should aid the realization of the program worked out by creating a good political atmosphere, by agitation work done within the place of work collective and, last but not least, by means of continuous party supervision.

Let us emphasize once again: The lessons of the conversations represent an inestimable ideological-political value for the primary organization; using this is an obligation. No single party member should feel that what he said has had no effect. He who recommended good things which can be realized should experience (now or later) the actual effect of his words.

III.

But all this (making use of those lessons of the conversations which pertain to organizational life and local party guidance of economic work) may be relatively the easier, although this is not easy either. There is something more complex that the primary organizations have to do, somehow to "map" (of course, without any superfluous paper work) the ideological condition, way of thinking and moral behavior of the membership and adjusting local propaganda and educational work to this. Or, more precisely, to map not only these things for the membership but for the entire collective of the place of work or the populace of the area, because the party organization is responsible for this too. We feel that such a "map" exists in the head of a properly functioning party leadership but this must always be "re-drawn" in its details in accordance with reality and the requirements, must be made more precise, because the ideological profile of people, of a given community, is not at all rigid and unchanging but always changing and developing.

In economic construction work, as we have pointed out, operational measures have outstanding significance. And here also, in the area of forming social awareness, public thinking and moral behavior, results can be achieved only with continuous propaganda and educational work, common experiences and the development of the personality.

In surveying the ideological situation and in continuous educational work we must again start from the dialectic of community and personality. Educational work must be directed simultaneously and in a complementary way at the primary organization as a whole and at the individual communists or, in a wider sense, at the place of work collective and at individual people. The individual can be educated only in a community and by the community to truly communal--that is, socialist--communist thinking and moral behavior. And, continuing this motif along the path of the negation

of the negation, by strengthening the socialist, communist thinking and behavior of the individual the socialist community, the Communist Party organization is raised to a higher ideological level.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of man, as we know, does not start from the isolated individual, does not explain society by means of the individual, but rather, in the final analysis, explains the individual man by means of society; that is, it does not hold society to be the sum of the individuals but rather just the opposite, it conceives of man as the sum of his social relationships. "The human essence is not some abstraction dwelling within some individual. The human essence is in its reality the sum of social relationships," Marx writes in his famous theses on Feuerbach. But this conception of dialectical and historical materialism does not at all mean (as ever-renewed waves of anti-communist ideological currents of various type and rank have maintained for 13 decades with varying terminology but always in a vulgarizing and slanderous way) that "communism does not turn enough care to the individual," that "it stands uncomprehending before the phenomenon of man," before the "human essence" or "existence," that it "filters out the personality," etc. Indeed, only the Marxist answer, the materialist conception of man with its historical-social foundation and free of all mysticism, truly discloses the "secret of man." And in practice, it is the socialist revolution that gives true freedom and human dignity to the great working majority of society; it is the practice of socialist construction which develops to an ever-growing degree, and it is the communist, the communal society which develops to the fullest degree, the personality.

Ideological problems were raised in a direct way in the course of the conversations too; many urged an improvement in the ideological training of themselves and their fellow workers and comrades. (In some strata, for example among teachers, this demand was formulated in a mass way, indicating that the problem was not individual but involved a broader problem.) In the case of others their ideological condition emerged only indirectly but even from these betraying statements useful conclusions can be drawn about the public thinking and way of thinking of the membership and, in a broader sense, of the entire place-of-work collective.

This ideological condition, whether we speak of an individual or of the community, is a complex concept. Ideological education is an indispensable factor in it and indicator of it but this does not cast light on everything and it is not enough for the primary organization to report on this. The question is to what extent has what has been learned in party instruction, at mass propaganda courses and in the schools of Marxism-Leninism been profoundly ripened into a world view, built into the consciousness of the community and the personality, become an internal value system, even a system of taste. And a further question is how effectively it guides from within the political and moral behavior. For this reason the primary organization cannot "get rid of" or "have done with" the problem of

ideological education work by even the most precise organization and execution of ideological training and party instruction.

The first step, of course, is improvement of training. (In logical order, this is the first step among the things the party organization has to do! Because in a "historical" sense the matter does not begin with this in the general development of the personality. The great majority of men begin to approach the ideal of socialism as the result of earlier personal experiences, only more or less aware, largely instinctively and only then, as a result of political education and the experiences of practical work, do they become acquainted more precisely with the scientific truths of Marxism-Leninism thanks to the study demanded by practice and personal interest.) Many brought up, as we have said, critically and self-critically, the deficiencies in ideological training. So the primary organizations, as a lesson to be drawn from the conversations, should organize local party instruction better and more carefully, should aid the mass instruction of the social organizations, before all else of the KISZ, and should struggle more strongly for the systematization of these. Formalism should be eliminated from instruction and from the selection of students; the courses should be adjusted to local political needs and requirements, to the prior training of the students there and to the number of adequately trained propagandists. And, what is at least as important, they should give constant attention to the development of the students and the effectiveness of training and education.

What is involved here is quality, "deep plowing." The experiences of the conversations confirm the statements of the congress report: "The influence of Marxism-Leninism has increased in our homeland, socialist public thinking has strengthened in society, the norms of socialist morality and life style have been adopted in broader circles...." It is true what the report stated: "The effectiveness of party propaganda has increased...." But the appended statement is no less true: "There is an especially great need for unceasing strengthening of the ideological training of the party membership and of the ideological unity of the party."

The ground won by the hegemony of the world view of dialectical and historical materialism was definitely reflected in the conversations, if largely in an indirect way. But the party organizations should know that this is a long-range developmental process, especially on a social scale, so world view education work must be conducted with never flagging patience and stability. Let us note here that in some cases the conversation groups had to deal with the world view conflicts of party members and their non-party, religious environment, their families. Even after the conversations we must pay attention to these problems and we must work out the solution which is favorable in terms of world view with the methods of patient persuasion.

Education for socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism must occupy an important place in the view-forming and ideological activity of

the party organizations and the individual communists. It is natural that in this question also the party membership should be more advanced than our society as a whole but even so one can find the hidden and pale flutterings of nationalism even in party members. It is an obligation for communists to see clearly and give an unambiguous answer in their everyday positions in this question also. They should be the bearers and spreaders of the view that socialist love of homeland means primarily just pride for our socialist achievements together with respect for the progressive traditions of our past, that socialist patriotism is a patriotism active for socialism which must be shown in deeds and in the quality of our work. They should acknowledge that we could have achieved these results only as a part of the worldwide struggle of the international worker class, enjoying the aid of the socialist community, especially of the party and peoples of the Soviet Union; that the continuation of our socialist construction work and the defense of our peace can be insured only by our solidarity with the progressive and peace-loving forces of the world; and that support for the revolutionary, liberating struggle of other peoples and the struggles of our fraternal parties belongs among our fundamental principles, is our communist obligation and a matter of our honor. This is also a part of our everyday political work and our everyday ideological work.

The conversations also reflect the fact that socialist collectivism has become a deeply built-in, central and guiding principle in the awareness and political and moral value and taste system of our party membership. There were very frequent and sharp protests against phenomena opposed to this--egoism, petit-bourgeois selfishness, trying to acquire income which was not in proportion to work, cleverness, materialism, protectionism, unprincipled entanglements, misuse of personal power, lack of discipline, and extreme individualism manifesting itself in everyday contacts. (Not even to speak now of those cases which fall outside the limits of tolerance of our laws, cases which for the most part damage social property!) All this causes special indignation if perchance it is found in a party member and especially in a party member leader. The sharp critical tone is fundamentally in harmony with that openness with which the 11th congress of our party spoke about these phenomena even if sometimes the opinion of some party members is not free of exaggeration and faulty generalization.

The observations made in this question can be used in many ways in the ideological work (and not only in the ideological work!) of the primary organizations. The party organizations should develop an objective conception free of exaggeration in judging immoral social phenomena. There is no need for prettying up reality or glossing over real contradictions; but there is need not to magnify these errors or to generalize them because this could disarm us in the struggle against them. The party organizations should draw strength from the opinions of the communists primarily so that they can be the vigilant guards of moral order and public

life purity locally (in the place of work and place of residence) so that as a result a healthy and commanding local public opinion should develop in which such cases will become impossible. Care should be taken to have respect for positive values and selfless activity for society in the given community. The party organization cannot only ask the leaders for reports but should dare to stand up for the good leader who undertakes unpopular tasks and capably and successfully carries out the party resolutions. The party organization should be consistent in regard to its own members, demanding from them that they should demand from others from this moral foundation.

Perhaps it has appeared from all this the extent to which ideological education work cannot be limited to ideological training, study and instruction. What is involved is continuous, everyday educational work the arena of which is the party membership meeting, the talks of the party group and the sessions of the leadership and the everyday meetings and conversations with individual party members. And ideological work is also the everyday personal activity of the communists in their own immediate environment, their example, their attractive behavior and convincing arguments for the truth of our ideals and policy, of our cause.

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And so we have come to the place from which this line of thought started in the beginning, to organizationally stronger party work, communal work but better based at the same time on the communist personality. Making use of the conversations connected with the exchange of party books offers extraordinarily varied possibilities. And yet we can say that there is "only" one possibility, "only" one thing to be done: To serve more effectively with higher level party work, strengthening the ideological-political-action unity, the present and future goals of our worker class and our working people; to create a developed socialist society so that in this way we can come closer to our ultimate goal, communism.

8984

CSO: 2500

GYORI STRESSES TARGETS FOR PARTY PROPAGANDA ACTIVITY

Budapest PARTELET in Hungarian No 10, Oct 76 pp 33-38

[Abridged text of Secretary of the Central Committee Imre Gyori's address at opening ceremony of the Political College, 1 September 1976: "For the Higher Ideological-Political Level of the Party Propaganda"]

[Text] We have an eventful era, rich in events behind us. Following the 11th party congress, we have successfully conducted the parliamentary elections in a good political atmosphere. In spite of the difficulties, the problems involved with the way the world economic situation is developing, we have worked out the country's Fifth Five-Year Plan on time, realistically, escalating the requirements in every area and we have begun to carry it out. The trade unions and the Communist Youth Organization have held their scheduled conventions and have defined the future direction of their activity. The Peoples' Front's Fourth Congress counts as a significant event for society. Finally, the most important moment of the political work connected to the exchanging of membership books that has taken place in the party during the first half of this year: talking with, exchanging ideas with the party members.

The recent months have been full of international events which directly affect our party. The most significant ones are the congresses of the brother parties and the Berlin convention of the European communist and workers' parties.

Reference to the more important domestic events illustrates the complex and bubbling political life which has developed in the interest of realizing the resolutions of the 11th congress. The party has paid and is paying its main attention to the areas that define socialist growth. Actually the congress mobilized the party for the solution of two such great tasks closely interdependent on each other upon which creation of the advanced socialist society depends. One: elevating the constructive economic work to the standards of today's demands. The other: the forming of active conscience in the party spirit, the ideological work. If we do these in harmony, demandingly, well, then--in essence--we can say: The leadership role of the working class and of the party continues to be

properly realized in our country, domination by the people is firm, the socialist national unity is strengthening. Through this a secure foundation is created for the further improvement of the standard of living, for the successful continuation of the cultural revolution, for improving the sciences and health care, for fulfilling the socialist style of life. The success of our foreign policy also largely depends on this, our contribution to the cause of society's progress, to the defense of peace, as does our weight and respect in international life.

The Central Committee continues to pay much attention to economic affairs. It does so with the knowledge that in order to reach our political goals the near as well as the distant preconditions for it are basically assured by planned, disciplined and effective economic work, by the escalated utilization of our internal potentials and reserves.

The evaluation conducted during the April session of the Central Committee as well as the analyses performed since by party and governmental organizations also show that the execution of the Fifth Five-Year Plan has begun successfully. This year's plan--in harmony with the Central Committee's November 1975 resolution and with the goals of the five-year plan--has designated as the primary task taking definite steps in the direction of reestablishing the balance of the people's economy, to increase the social effectiveness of work. As is known, this is indispensably necessary in order that economic development may continue uninterruptedly and that we may raise our people's standard of living regularly to the extent possible. Based on the first half-year's fulfillment of the plan we may state that the results are in line with the goals; basically the growth is as planned. The increase of production in every area came practically exclusively from the increase of productivity. It also represents progress that as a result of reconstructions started earlier, changes in the right direction can be perceived in the structure of industrial production. Energy and material savings in industry have increased; the management of stock has improved. The socialist labor competition movement and the socialist brigade movement have achieved successes primarily in these areas. Gradual creation of economic balance was assisted primarily by the fact that internal utilization grew more moderately. Centralized directing is more deliberate and at the same time the behavior of enterprises and cooperatives is more independent and responsible, there are more local initiatives. The improvement mechanisms, the regulatory tools of controlling the economy are having effects in the proper direction. The party, state and economic organs are not considering this an automated thing which would make political convincing or material and moral stimulation unnecessary.

There are great tasks before us in the coming years also. The increase of industrial production and the alteration of its system in such a way that it would contribute better to the growth of products which can be sold on all markets, to the faster, more income-producing broadening of exports

than heretofore, is somewhat slower than supposed. Orderly economic growth was made more difficult by the wet, cold spring weather turning into drought during the summer, which hurt agriculture. The loss of products has caused confusion in the domestic fruit and vegetable supply and unfavorably affected our foreign trade.

Thus we are only at the beginning of realizing the tasks of the Fifth Five-Year Plan. Creating a balance in the people's economy is progressing in the right direction but the opening up of the significant reserves serving this end, increasing their effectiveness, is not moving fast enough. We have not yet reached the real "front breakthrough" in manpower utilization, nor in better use of the working time. Without change, more talk continues to be heard about where the number of jobs has to be increased than about how best to use existing manpower.

First of all, the preconditions of a steady, stable balance must be created in production. It helps this end if sufficient resoluteness and moderation prevail in distribution and if we seek out better and utilize the opportunities on the international market. This year a significant part of the losses occurred in agriculture but there are shortcomings in certain branches of industry also. Therefore to reach our goals, to make up the losses, calls for all-economy, all-society efforts.

Based on the present situation, we must continue to focus on the social-political interconnections between economic effectiveness and quality requirements, to the opening up of reserves of the people's economy. More efforts must be made so that the significance of international economic connections and the things that have to be done that stem from these may be understood everywhere. It must be made unequivocal that not only--and not primarily--the external circumstances are lodging higher demands against our economic work but that this follows decisively from the greater demands of socialist construction, from economy's intensive development.

Knowing the main trends we may safely say: all of what the party's 11th congress has said about the growth of the people's economy, and what we have been teaching on this subject is also a timely task for the coming years. The comrades should teach and learn the economic issues in this spirit here at the Political College and so should the students who have now received their diplomas use what they have learned.

After the congress, besides the economic tasks the party's governing bodies also paid much attention to shaping the party's internal life, to making its contents richer. The huge organizing and political work of the exchanging of the membership books strengthens the party's ideological, political, organizational and activity unity; it is a significant manifestation of the party democracy. Conversations with the many hundred thousand communists are bringing extraordinarily rich experience to the

surface. The party membership's activity has increased. Ideological experience also indicates that the issues of the party's orderly growth, the development of democratic centralism, party democracy and critical spirit must be dealt with deeper than before.

As a part of the party's growth, the Central Committee will review the position and tasks of ideological work and ideological education.

Preparation shows that we can give an accounting about the growth of the effectiveness of ideological education, of the ideological preparedness of the party membership. It was an important precondition for this that the party's Marxist-Leninist policy grew without interruption for 2 decades; that the congresses and the sessions of the Central Committee have always provided the answer for the real problems and new questions of society's growth. We have also focused attention here in the work and learning of the party membership.

Party propaganda, primarily the system of cadre-developing institutions and mass-propaganda seminars have played a decisive role in the party members' ideological education. It is of great significance that more than 70 percent of the party membership regularly participates in party educational activities.

Among the cadre-training institutions the Political College has a big role where since 1968 university-level education has been going on. It is extraordinarily significant in the party's entire work that the college sends on their way hundreds of highly and multilaterally trained cadres every year. Knowledge and diplomas earned here command respect. Graduates take their places in the party's leading bodies, in the country's leading positions, in every area of economic, social and cultural life. The theoretical shopwork and political activity going on at the college, participation by the members of the teaching staff in the public scientific and ideological life and last but not least the college's multi-level contribution to the party's nationwide propaganda activity are great benefits for the country's Marxist thinking and education. We welcome with pleasure that building upon the successful educational work so far, this school year--in the interest of scientific-level examination of the party life's theoretical questions--the training of aspirants [candidates] will begin at the Political College. This will be an important tool in scientifically preparing the party's cadres.

The experience of the Political College and in general of those dealing with party propaganda helps propaganda's further development. An analytical review of the party propaganda and the conclusions screened out of the conversations in connections with the exchange of membership books illustrate some important questions better. For example, that in the work more attention must be paid to training for the Marxist world outlook.

The role of Marxist-Leninist world outlook is necessarily increasing with the building of socialism. Placing new tasks on the everyday agenda, the new generation's growing up and getting into the life of society, the great growth of science and technology, the increase of the population's being informed and their political knowledge alike all require this. The ideological issues in connection with the growth of the international communist movement exert their effect in this direction, as do the favorable changes taking place in world politics, the thawing process and the ever more active ideological battle of the two systems.

In order that we may bring into effect socialism's general laws in the constructive work in such a way that it would be appropriate for our country's historical traditions, national characteristics, for the demands of today's specific situation--having ideological foundations is indispensable. First of all the demands on the party's members are increasing. We view Marxist knowledge and conviction as definitive not only in the shaping of the party's policy but in understanding and representing it, in the strengthening of socialist obligation, in the forming of communist morality and behavior, in the flourishing of conscientious work and responsible participation in public life. Without a dialectic and historical materialistic outlook, without a social view, there is no Marxist revolutionary thinking and one cannot understand the era's basic social processes, its direction of movement. This knowledge multiplies the activity in solving socialism's domestic and global sized tasks.

Recognizing the role of Marxist outlook is a decisive precondition of successful party propaganda. This must win expression in the thematics of education, in the strivings of the propagandists. We are investigating certain branches of the social sciences besides the high degree of specialization in such a way also that the theses, conclusions, the knowledge weld together in a unit of outlook convictions. Let us teach Marxism in such a way that all those who seek the road to improvement and are ready to do something about it find answers relating to meaningful human life, to individual and community efforts. Now when our ideological enemies are preaching the crisis of Marxism and the ambiguity of its fundamental teachings, the correct contents of the outlook is important in scientific context also--especially in debates.

Solid workers' authority is always the decisive precondition of the strengthening of the socialist system and balanced development. Only in possession of this, with the assistance of a socialist state performing its functions well, can the working class accomplish its historic goals expressing the interests of the entire working population. There is an international debate under way on issues touching upon the character of power. This also makes it necessary for us to treat this subject thoroughly in our propaganda. It is even more important for us to illuminate this universally valid basic thesis of Marxism-Leninism again from the viewpoint of our present and future tasks even if there is

nothing to be changed theoretically on our standpoints. Beyond the introduction of winning the power for socialism, its way throughout history and its trends of growth--primarily the rich opportunities opening up with the development of socialist democracy--must be learned well, taught and made profitable. Let the citizens see, feel and let it stand as unrefutable proof also before our class brethren living in the capitalist world that the power of the working class is more democratic, is of a higher order than any bourgeois democracy that ever existed.

The knowledge of this, the responsible practicing of citizen's rights and obligations, honestly performed work, activity in public life give living contents to socialist patriotism. The measure of patriotism is how one does his share of building today's Hungary, of improving and defending our society. And let the justified pleasure felt over the many joint efforts for realizing our policy, over the strengthening, the growth of the socialist homeland be the renewing, enriching fountainhead of patriotism. Nationalism is foreign to our ideals, to the goals of our society, to the contents of our patriotism, wherever and in whatever old or new form it may appear. History repeatedly proves that against the nationalistic manifestations occurring in the world, any kind of "counter-nationalism," looking down upon other peoples, national haughtiness and isolationism cannot be intelligent answers. Only proletarian internationalist policy which joins and expresses our own and international interests and the internationalistic education based on this can result in behavior which serves progress.

In connection with socialist progress, the advance of society, the propaganda of proletarian internationalism's ideology and practice is of fundamental significance. Our party's standpoint on the question of internationalism--like our concept professed about power--has not changed at all. At the present time there are international debates going on about this; with the repeated defining of our party's standpoint we strive to strengthen the understanding between the parties and comradely cooperation.

In the interest of strengthening the international conviction we must pay more attention to the specific issues of growth of the communist and workers' movements, to the conditions and circumstances of the battle; to the constructive work of the socialist countries, to our connections to the socialist countries--first of all our unbreakable ties with the Soviet Union; to the strife of the brother parties and working masses in capitalist countries, to the situation of the developing countries, to solidarity. The understanding of the world's revolutionary processes, the faith placed in socialism, progress, the forces of peace, the real political concept must also be strengthened by this. The correct Marxist-Leninist international concept lets us see in what complex processes internationalism is realized, which are the problems and tasks of the growth of cooperation among parties. This fortifies, makes more conscious the party members' identification with the internationalistic behavior systematically asserted

in the party's practice; makes more easily understandable and provides even more active support for that complicated activity requiring much circumspection which our party is doing for the unity of the communist and workers' movements.

In the growth of the creative use of Marxism-Leninism in our days the ideological cooperation of the brother parties is of increasing significance. Our party proves through active participation that it considers this one of the important elements of internationalism.

It so happened that the 11th congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party had its sessions earlier in the March of 1975 than the congresses of the brother parties of most of the socialist countries. It is extremely important for our party that its showing of direction for the short and long range be in harmony with the standpoints of the congresses of the brother parties. Documentation of the congresses proves that our parties interpret the tasks of creating the advanced socialist society basically the same way and are also working on realizing them as a common cause. Upon this sufficiently clear and multilaterally reinforced theoretical basis the party education and propaganda may properly deal with the theory and practice of advanced socialism. Our party's program declaration sketches the historical work of creating the advanced socialist society for 15-20 years. It is propaganda's job to introduce the distant goals which we approach more and more as we solve our daily tasks well. Let propaganda be worthy in its standards of the attractive, great goals of the advanced socialist society.

The scientific generalization of 6 decades of our party's historical experience is of no less importance in the light of distant events for the benefit of practical activity as well as for propaganda. Greater opportunity must be presented for teaching the party's history even in the form of a separate course and the entire party teaching must be permeated with the rich experience gathered from the party's activity. Among these, one of the most important ones is that the party was fulfilling its role truly effectively when it neither rushed too much nor acted prematurely, nor did it postpone solving timely problems; but looked the problems bravely in the eye and brought its ideas in a timely manner and openly before the masses. The party's historical experience proves that the laws of general validity opened up by Marxism are also valid in our country, but of course, under specific circumstances, in a characteristic way. This is the prime rebuttal to that enemy propaganda with which our ideological enemies are trying to render these firm foundations uncertain. In possession of the better, ideologically clarified knowledge about the party's activity and revolutionary experience, which orients the party members, the new generations can solve the newer and newer problems more successfully; they can avoid repeating the old mistakes.

Among the multilayered set of actions to be done for the development of ideological education, I would also like to call special attention to the strengthening of theoretical foundations. The life work of Marxism-Leninism's classics is an inexhaustible scientific source in our age also. In the future we will have to pay much more attention to studying the classics, and we must not be satisfied with second or third-hand treatments of them instead, with writings which are unable to render the values of original analysis which develop one's thinking.

The important scientific source of ideological education is to make the new conclusions of Marxist research a public treasure. We must strive without pause to have the research's fresh domestic and international results find their way into the mainstream of ideological work, enrich it and increase its persuasive powers. At the same time we must be mindful of saving the party propaganda from erroneous ideas, from mutations born in this manner, and must properly reject them.

Besides strengthening and improving the scientific foundations, let the ideological education be lively, true to reality, let it keep step with the new issues and demands. Let it gain the upper hand over formalities which can still be found in many places in propaganda, learning in order to obtain the certificate, and let it contribute to the development of independence and self-induced activity. We are convinced that even the highest level of scientific teaching and learning serves the party effectively only when the spirit of practical work performed in the interest of elevating society and the workers becomes effective in it.

I have spoken in outlines about all those things which appear to be important in the party at this time. Those guiding words which were spoken right here at the Political College by Comrade Janos Kadar about the party's tasks with respect to propaganda are still completely valid now: "...it is the teaching of the live Marxism-Leninism to win the battle over all kinds of subjectivisms which falsify theory as well as reality; to win the battle over dogmatism which ruins theory and pays no attention to reality; to win the battle over revisionist trends, views and efforts which falsify Marxism and do not recognize the class theory; and finally to arrive at a theoretical generalization of practical experience--that is, to contribute to the further growth of the living Marxist-Leninist theory."

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CSO: 2500

POLAND

CARDINAL WYSZYNSKI OFFERS HIS RESIGNATION

Two Visits With Pope

Rome ANSA in English 1600 GMT 20 Oct 76 AU

[Text] Vatican City, 29 Oct (ANSA)--Pope Paul the Sixth received Polish Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski here today for the second time this week.

Wyszynski, who turned 75 in August, has handed in his resignation to the Roman Catholic pontiff in accordance with the Second Vatican Council's recommendation that ecclesiastic officials retire at that milestone.

According to reliable Vatican sources, however, Pope Paul was not accepting the gesture in Wyszynski's case for the time being.

Asked To Withdraw Resignation

Rome ANSA in English 0810 GMT 30 Oct 76 AU

[Text] Vatican City, 30 Oct (ANSA)--Cardinal Wyszynski, who turned 75 last August and as a result turned in his resignation, has reportedly been asked to withdraw his resignation and to remain at the head of the Polish episcopacy for some time to come.

Wyszynski has been received twice by Pope Paul the Sixth over the past week, and it is believed that unlike the case of Dutch Cardinal Alfrink (who was replaced 6 months after reaching the recommended age limit) the Polish prelate will be asked to remain at least a year in his original diocese with the prerogatives of the Archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw, a post that confers on him the title of president of the Polish Bishops' Conference as well as that of primate.

In June of next year the Polish bishops are to make their regular "ad limina" visit to the Vatican (every 5 years as set by canon law). Once again, it appears that the bishops will be led by Wyszynski.

He was elected archbishop of Gniezno on 12 November by Pope Pius the Twelfth.

On Friday, the cardinal, accompanied by the secretary of the Polish Episcopate, Msgr Bronislaw Dabrowski, was received by Pope Paul.

The cardinal also had a series of meetings with key members of the Roman Curia.

Cardinal Wyszynski Departs

Rome ANSA in English 1915 GMT 1 Nov 76 AU

[Text] Rome, 1 Nov (ANSA)--Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski will remain primate of Poland and archbishop of Gniezno and Warsaw. A rumor to this effect that has been circulating in this capital for several days was officially confirmed here today by the cardinal's secretary.

The pope himself begged the cardinal to withdraw his resignation, proffered in accordance with a papal suggestion that all cardinals should do so when they reach the age of 75. The pontiff reportedly indicated that he did not want the primate to step down, during a private audience with Wyszynski on 29 October.

Observers said that the pope showed thereby that he was aware of a strong desire on the part of Polish authorities and Catholics for Wyszynski to keep his high church posts.

The cardinal leaves Rome today by train for Vienna. After a 1-day stopover he will continue to Warsaw. He has let it be known that upon his return to Poland he will read a pastoral letter to the faithful.

CSO: 2020

IDEOLOGICAL STRENGTHENING OF YOUTH NEEDED; TOO FEW ENTER PZPR

Opening of ZSMP Political Education Year

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27 Sep 76 pp 1, 2

[Text] The All-Polish Inauguration of the ZSMP [Union of Socialist Polish Youth] Political Education Year took place in Warsaw. It was preceded by a discussion between two workers' teams: lecturers of youth and the organizers of political education. The second day of the meeting began with a report of the ZG [Main Administration] ZSMP presented by Chairman Krzysztof Trebaczekiewicz [a summary of this speech follows this article]. The participants accepted the general lines of the program and organization for the ideological and educational work of the ZSMP in the academic year 1976-1977.

The ZSMP came into being about 5 months ago through the common desire of Polish youth. Even in that short a time it became evident that the union is an active and highly enterprising organization with a program aimed at uniting all Polish working youth. The primary goal of the ZSMP, apart from the obvious representation of young people's interests, is to develop in its members definite, active attitudes toward life, surrounding reality, and to teach Polish youth to understand its often complicated, difficult problems. The past summer, a time of heated public discussion involving youth as well, enriched the union with new experiences and also revealed certain weaknesses in the educational work of the organization. The problem is--it was said at the Saturday discussion focusing on the ideological and educational work of the ZSMP in the new academic year--to successfully eliminate these defects and achieve an even more effective unity among the young people on the country's development program laid out by our party.

And thus, for example, Feliks Szczygiel, chairman of the Voivodship Union of Lecturers of the ZW [Voivodship Administration] ZSMP in Leszno, spoke on the present-day meaning of the word "patriotism." It is most fully

expressed in everyday, honest, self-sacrificing work, in the ambition and desire for excellence. A patriot today is a person who knows that "immediate, temporary difficulties cannot obstruct our view of basic principles," to quote the very wise words of Edward Gierek, the leader of our nation and party, spoken at the memorable meeting of the first secretary with active members of the workers party in Mielec.

The road to success is not always easy. Sometimes there are temporary setbacks which must be described to the young people and their origins explained. In short, we have to teach our youth to become mature citizens and to think in terms of the primary interests of the people. Among those who participated in this discussion was Piotr Rutkowski from Starograd, the originator of political education at the communal level.

"There is no democracy without discipline and conscientiousness in the carrying out of one's responsibilities," stated another debater, Wlodzimierz Palewski, representing the voivodship of Plock. Other speakers also shared this opinion, at the same time emphasizing the need for better, more effective training in intelligent political discussion and mature argumentation, which is simply indispensable in carrying out aggressive political activity.

We must take advantage of the experiences and gains acquired by the organization up to this time in seeking still newer forms and methods of political education. In the new academic year, the latter will form a complex of highly diversified activities aimed chiefly at: 1) developing socialistic patriotism in the young people; 2) arousing and indoctrinating a feeling of national and civic consciousness; 3) developing patriotic grounds for honest and self-sacrificing work; 4) disseminating the best models of work and its high standards of excellence which promote consistent improvement in management efficiency and efficiency in the utilization of resources in all areas of material production and national consumption; 5) developing among the young people a consciousness of joint management in national affairs; 6) improving the educational and social functions of the youth movement; 7) strengthening and developing the Union of Socialist Polish Youth as an organizer and representative of working youth.

The final address was made by Wieslaw Klimczak, chief of the Department for Ideological and Educational Work of the PZPR Central Committee. "Your inauguration," he said, "coincides with the beginning of the academic year in the party, but this coincidence is certainly not limited to this one period. The party has always regarded the educational activity of youth organizations as a continuation and supplement to its activity in this field. The youth occupy a special place, as they are among the recipients of the party's ideological activity."

This is first of all due to the fact that young people are, by nature, more interested in the future than other age groups in society. Not only

do the party's programs look ahead into the future, its present activity has a very definite progressive aspect. In economic and social policy this is directed toward the optimum reconciliation of present-day needs to create conditions for a better, more complete satisfaction of these needs in the future. "And this is why," W. Klimczak continued, "the party program is a youth program. The young people support it and will also help develop it because, first and foremost, they will have more to gain from its realization than others."

Discussing the main problems in the ideological and educational work of the party following the fourth plenum of the Central Committee, W. Klimczak said, among other things, that we should make greater and more persistent efforts to disseminate the true picture of our socioeconomic development and strengthen our pride in past achievements. We should take more aggressive and consistent steps to convince the public that one of the leading goals of party activity is the improvement of national well-being.

A ceremony was held in the morning at which the deputy chairman of the ZG ZSMP, Stanislaw Gabrielski, awarded lectorships to 19 individuals and honored over 70 politically active party members--organizers of political education--by awarding each with a beautifully printed copy of our constitution.

Trebaczkiewicz Speech

Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 27 Sep 76 p 5

[Summary of speech by ZG ZSMP Chairman Krzysztof Trebaczkiewicz]

[Text] Three months ago, in summing up the effects of the past academic year in our union, we indicated the need for an intensive realization of ideological and educational tasks during the summer period.

Life, as we know, has increased these tasks and responsibilities. Their contents indicated, first of all, the ideological offensive of our party taken up at the time when a broad discussion on changes in price structure developed into a nationwide debate on issues that are vital to the life of our country and our people as a whole. The culmination of this offensive was the memorable appearance of Edward Gierek, the leader of our party and our people, at the Katowice meeting of active workers' party members from Slask and Zaglenie. This was an important lesson in political wisdom for all patriotic-minded Poles. It proved they were right and gave deep satisfaction to those who believed in and supported our party's policy, its leadership, and the political line of the sixth and seventh PZPR congresses.

There has been no lack of significant youth involvement in the numerous examples of patriotic commitment among the working people and in the

widespread activities supporting and defining the basic rationale of our country's policies.

Our Goal: Management Quality and Efficiency

Our primary responsibility in organizing the young people to become actively involved in the ZSMP is to unite working youth on the national development program laid out by our party. On the strength of this program, of the resulting current and perspective tasks, we should define and continually update the basic directions of the offensive ideological and educational work carried out in our organization.

The chief task for our entire union during the next few months is to concentrate the attention, energy and ambition of working youth on the problems relating to the improvement of work quality and management efficiency. This involves wide public support of all activities aimed at increasing the production of industrial goods, food products and export goods. It involves an understanding of the need for economical and efficient utilization of all available resources. It also involves a resolute struggle against every possible manifestation of indiscipline, disorganization, indifference and insipid faultfinding.

By informing the young people of the extensive benefits they stand to gain as a result of the country's dynamic development, we must make them realize, first and foremost, that the principal need at the present time is energetic, effective activity and increased qualitative demands for every worker, regardless of his position.

To this end we must make full use of the widely popularized resolutions undertaken recently at the Fourth Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee and also impress the true picture of proper, dynamic economic development in the minds of the young people. The motivation behind our educational work is the heretofore unparalleled range of achievements for the past five-year plan, which encompassed all walks of life and affected the lot and outlook of every Polish family. We must strengthen among our youth the sense of joint responsibility for our future course of development and how it will intensify the patriotic justification of honest, self-sacrificing work, as well as the ambition and desire for excellence in realizing both production and social goals.

The primary goal of our union's activity is to find the answer to the questions: How do we win people over to our ideology and system? How do we teach our youth to serve their homeland and build their own lives, based on true values and in harmony with the general well-being?

Our aim is to see to it that our young people's participation in the life of their country is based on an intense, rational and emotional unity with Marxist-Leninist ideology, social responsiveness and on a sense of

responsibility for themselves and others. On the basis of collective self-education methods we are able to create consistent, habitual and effective communal activity.

What It Means To Be a Joint Manager

How, in view of our aims, do we address specific educational proposals to the members of our organization this year?

The key issue in these proposals is the work aimed at achieving the comprehensive realization of the important resolutions undertaken at the Third Plenum of the PZPR Central Committee. We intend to hold a meeting on the subject "The Rights and Responsibilities of Young Poles" in order to continue the problems already discussed in the school campaign under the motto "Our nation--the highest good of the Polish people."

We would like them to understand the truth, that a socialist nation is an institution founded by the people to realize their current and future interests. It is to be accompanied by a conscious reflection on how to best take advantage of the existing structural potential to achieve fuller participation of people in government and administration; this strengthens personal responsibility in general social issues and serves to increase our contribution in the country's development. We would like our members to draw their own conclusion, by analyzing specific examples of successes and failures, that the position of the real joint manager can only be attained by independent activity and a high degree of political maturity, familiarity with the actual situation and with the people's needs, and by the economic consideration and practical application of the principle that there is no democracy without discipline and conscientiousness in carrying out one's own responsibilities.

By characterizing the main forms of public participation in decision-making, on a national scale, we propose to develop the young people's awareness of laws and instill in them respect for their country's norms, which are instituted in the best interests of and by the people. How often do we see that attempts to obviously bypass a law and take advantage of every possible loophole and inconsistency in its code are not met with strong disapproval and opposition, although such action is detrimental to the interests of the people.

This is why in our educational work we must aim at strengthening social discipline, respect for law and the implementation of government decisions, and also at inculcating the habit of working together and with the community, and at treating organizational discipline as a basic requirement for effective social activity.

The basic trend in patriotic and civic education also encompasses this year's proposal for the Olympics of Sociopolitical Knowledge for Working

Youth, which is conceived as a long-range educational campaign and also directed toward the young people who are not members of the organization. The Olympic motto "Poland and Poles" signifies its concentration on matters which serve to popularize the most beautiful patriotic and revolutionary traditions of our people, as well as national heroes--the great Poles esteemed for their work and struggle for the fatherland.

We believe that it is very important to give this year's Olympics a truly mass character and, at the same time, a very high level of standards.

The goal of our next meeting, organized under the motto "To live better is to manage better" is to generate public opinion on matters which determine the quality of our work and life.

An important goal is to convince the young people of their need to study more thoroughly the functioning of our economy and to point out the need for efficient economizing on work, time, materials and equipment, as well as a more effective exploitation of resources in all areas of production and consumption.

We are presenting our active members with a task whereby they will use their firms, towns and cities as examples, propaganda-style, to show more forcefully and effectively that the decisions made by our party are economic, social and political necessities for maintaining our highly dynamic development which, as has been proved over the past 5 years, serve our people and strengthen our country's power. We assume that educational dissemination of the principles of modern management should also bring forth the young people's sharp, critical attitude to such negative matters and phenomena as poor organization of production, disregard for responsibilities, breaks of discipline in work, order and regulations. An effective formation of the opinions, attitudes and positions of our members is, in our opinion, an important test of their political and organizational capabilities.

A New Form of Life

The issue to be thoroughly discussed by all union members at our next meeting is the proposed establishment, as a part of the youth movement, of regional cultural, athletic and tourist councils in all designated youth centers.

As we know, the immediate goal of regional councils should be to strengthen our position as joint managers of cultural life and to generate new activities aimed at broadening various fields of creativity and giving young people the opportunity to actively take part in the formation of cultural values. The dissemination of specific personal examples in cultural and propaganda activities, in the participation and notable achievements of individuals and entire youth associations should--better than other

methods--convince us that the new form of life, the realization of lofty personal aims and common ideals depends on the people themselves, on their character, courage and perseverance in coping with various difficulties.

With the aid of the campaign for public educational meetings we also want to help working youth become more familiar with the basic issues of our education.

By taking up the problem of youth participation in the implementation of educational reforms, especially a system of continuing education, we want to convince the people of the need in our present system of worker and specialist training to expand the subject matter which promotes all-round personality development and prepares the individual to carry out specific social and educational roles in his own field of work and activity. The basic trend in this development should include the familiarization of the individual with the basic concepts of history, politics and economics, increasing his knowledge of socialist democracy, the specific functions and goals of representative institutions active in designated areas, and also to make him more aware of the need for an interest in cultural values.

These tasks are already being carried out at the present time by our ZSMP workers' and people's universities. We know, however, that these activities are still not sufficiently widespread for our purposes. In the meantime, the realization of this important social undertaking on a world-wide scale would, at the same time, be the answer to our current needs--lately so strongly exposed--and would also give us a good chance to develop our centers for continuing education by serving as a basic means of building up their authority and ideological, educational achievements. An important proof of our potential would be to take this chance, as is now being done by workers' universities in training specialists.

ZSMP Recommendations

The intensive educational efforts of the main centers should be most effectively used in performing the commendable duty of directing the best ZSMP members into the party's ranks. In the first half of the current year over 5,300 centers were granted individual rights for recommendation. Over 30,000 of our members joined the party during the given period. For a better appraisal of these statistics we should look at the effects obtained in the individual voivodships; we cannot be too happy with the results. Also, the achieved effects are very often brought about by persistent organizational efforts and not by the development of steady, everyday cooperative work with the leaders of our rising active members. Thus, we should expand the role of youth programs in scientific research on the party in our work. Special attention must be given to this type of education in an effort to create more new centers and strengthen the ones already in existence. We should also remember our responsibilities in seeing that this education lasts throughout the entire term of candidacy.

As we can see from the statistics, too many young people fail to qualify for PZPR candidacy. It is downright irresponsible to permit such an educational loss.

Another problem requiring special attention is the general economic education of our youth. We realize that one or two educational meetings will not solve this problem on a new qualitative scale. An important factor in resolving this issue must therefore be an effective introduction of economic subjects into all types of work with the active members and lecturers, even the most specialized, and also into the propaganda activities which accompany such socially productive efforts. Examples of the latter include competitions for young management and engineering specialists, young specialists in agriculture and agricultural machinery, as well as competitions of the "Polish Means the Best" type, which aim to promote the dynamic development of export production. We should also develop a fixed educational system for our active members working in representative bodies, particularly in workers' self-government centers.

Goals and Responsibilities of Centers

The primary goal of all the proposals put forth today is to promote the dynamic development of ideological and educational work in the main centers of our organization, thereby improving the effectiveness and aggressiveness of educational action on working youth in general.

These centers help shape the views and attitudes of our youth, instill in them a sense of responsibility for social matters in general, and also develop interhuman relations which reflect the values and beauty of socialist ideals. Much still remains to be done in order to eliminate set patterns and verbalism from the work of the centers as well as the production of short-term effects, often at the cost of overlooking actual problems and human conflicts. To achieve these goals we must have a thorough understanding of the young people and of our organization's chief responsibilities in making it a truly ideal leader and effective educator for the young generation. Learning to work with the young people, improving the social functions of our union, and strengthening the power and solidarity of the ZSMP are now the basic prerequisites for the full realization of the proposed ideological and educational goals.

We would like to undertake comprehensive action on all these issues during the reporting and planning campaign of our union which starts in a few days. One of the chief goals of this campaign will be to determine the real status of ideological and educational work in the main centers of the organization. The work standard of the centers depends directly on whether they feel truly responsible for their whole organization, whether they involve the young people in the solution of ambitious problems and whether the statutory living standards of the organization are being followed. Also, the work standard depends on whether our administration, which is

responsible for cooperation with the centers, makes it a habit to listen to young people's opinions and take note of their valid demands and suggestions, and whether it creates the right conditions for the development of effective criticism and self-criticism as an important element of social education and the maintenance of discipline within the organization.

We have a simple and clear organization model--already tested last year--of the political education carried out in our union. The entire Polish youth movement has uniform ideological and educational directions, and now its goal must be to truly and effectively influence the whole young generation. Let us, therefore, call up our active members to lead in this work, to realize the goals we have set today through self-sacrificing and creative endeavors! It is a great duty to the party and to all working youth.

8874

CSO: 2600

ROMANIA

CHANGE IN ORGANIZATION OF MINISTRY OF METALLURGICAL INDUSTRY

Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 88, 16 Oct 76 pp 3, 4

[Text] The Council of State of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees: Article I--Article 19 of Decree No 673/1969 on the organization and operation of the Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry, which became Law No 53/1969, with subsequent modifications, is amended and will have the following content:

"Article 19--The Ministry of the Metallurgical Industry has the following organizational structure:

- a) Directorate for planning development;
- b) Directorate for finance and prices;
- c) Directorate for technology;
- d) General directorate for investments and construction-installation work;
- e) Directorate for power mechanics and automation;
- g) General directorate for supply and sales;
- g) Directorate for international economic cooperation and foreign trade;
- h) Directorate for organization, control, and personnel-education;
- i) Directorate for the secretariat and administration.

The maximum number of personnel in the apparatus of the ministry is stipulated in the annex* which is an integral part of the present decree.

The directorate for international economic cooperation and foreign trade and the general directorate for supply and sales are organized on the principle of economic management, having juridical personality, and operate in accordance with the legal norms regarding the organization and management of state socialist units."

NICOLAE CEAUSESCU,
President of the Socialist Republic of
Romania

Bucharest, 12 October 1976
No 346

*The annex is transmitted to the institutions concerned.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

MEASURES TO PRESERVE ORDER AND DISCIPLINE IN SCHOOLS

Bucharest TRIBUNA SCOLII in Romanian 2 Oct 76 p 2

[Article by M. Miron]

[Text] The education of pupils in a revolutionary Communist spirit, their involvement in a concrete activity which is beneficial to society, the entire development of the educational and instructional process are possible and depend to a great extent on the establishment of a climate of careful attention in the school, on the ensuring of firm discipline, of strict observance of the norms of behavior and of civilized, Communist conduct.

With a view to the continued strengthening of order and discipline in the schools, the Ministry of Education and Instruction has drawn up, in Order No 1085 of 18 September 1976, a number of measures intended to assure the complete implementation of school regulations, the strict execution by the students of their obligations in regard to preserving order and discipline and keeping the educational facilities and materials in the best possible condition.

Of primary importance among these measures is the obligation of the pupils to prepare thoroughly for work and life, to assimilate the knowledge and practices stipulated in the school programs, to participate regularly in classes, in technical-productive and cultural-educational activities and in other activities organized by the school.

A good professional, political, and ideological training can be achieved not only by persevering, tenacious study but also by respecting order and discipline in the schools and boarding schools, on the street, and in public institutions, by a dignified and civilized behavior, by a respectful attitude toward teachers, parents, and other persons, as well as in contacts with colleagues. A dignified behavior is manifested, naturally, in proper dress. This presupposes that every pupil in day school will wear a uniform with the school emblem and his registration number and carry a bookbag or a briefcase. In school and outside of school, negligence and disharmony in dress and behavior, attitudes incompatible with the position of pupil, are inadmissible.

In order to assure a serious climate for work and teaching, so that the school can be a place where the good taste and the civilized conduct of the future builders of communist society are cultivated, the presence in class and in the school of pupils with unkempt appearance (in regard to hair style and clothing) will be prohibited. Also, pupils will not be allowed to use cosmetics, jewelry or anything else which is against school regulations. Smoking, the consumption of alcoholic beverages, and the bringing of beverages into the school or boarding school are also prohibited. Pupils are permitted to go to restaurants before 2200 hours and only when accompanied by their parents.

Pupils are not permitted to bring radios, tape recorders, or cassette recorders into the schools.

A special role in ensuring and respecting order and discipline in the school is played by the teaching cadres who, by their entire conduct, should serve as models of good behavior, both during the teaching process and in political life.

For this purpose, teachers and professors in primary, middle, and secondary schools are obliged to participate in all activities organized for the pupils, to supervise their behavior both in and outside of school, in the boarding schools, hostels, and canteens, and to act energetically in cases of deviation from the norms of school discipline. Also, teaching cadres are obliged to dress decently and neatly and to smoke only in their offices or in other places designated by the school management, which are not frequented by the pupils.

School managements and inspectorates will take all necessary measures for the precise implementation of the resolutions of the Ministry of Education and Instruction so that order and discipline will be strengthened in all schools and the best working and teaching conditions will be created.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BRIEFS

DISMISSAL OF OFFICIAL--The Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Romania resolves that Comrade Ion Nita is dismissed [se destituie] from his positions as deputy minister of the metallurgical industry and director general of the Bucharest iron and steel industrial central. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 89, 21 Oct 76 p 4]

PERSONNEL CHANGE--The President of the Socialist Republic of Romania decrees that Comrade Emanoil Florescu is relieved of his position as state inspector general in the State Inspectorate General for Investments and Constructions and Comrade Mircea Georgescu is appointed state inspector general in the State Inspectorate General for Investments and Constructions. [Bucharest BULETINUL OFICIAL in Romanian Part I No 87, 11 Oct 76 p 2]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

MILOVAN DJILAS INTERVIEWED BY SWEDISH NEWSPAPER

Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 16 Oct 76 pp 1,14

[Report on October 1976 interview in Belgrade with former Yugoslav communist leader Milovan Djilas by Klas Bergman]

[Text] Belgrade, October--From time to time he can be seen taking a morning walk in the center of town. He is gray-haired and somewhat stooped, but he moves along with a vigorous step. He is always alone. Occasionally someone stops to greet him. But he is soon back in his apartment among his books, and that is where Milovan Djilas receives guests.

He is 65 years old now. He was once Yugoslavia's vice president, Tito's closest associate, and a leader of the partisans, but in 1954 he was expelled from the party for his heretical views. He has spent a total of 9 years in prison and is the author of close to 10 books.

In books from the war years one can see a young Milovan Djilas side by side with Tito, Kardelj, and Rankovic, the innermost circle of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia after 1938, throughout the war, and up to 1954.

There are no such pictures on the walls of his book-lined study, and it is a little difficult to imagine that the man in the brown-and-white checked shirt and the burled corduroy trousers, with his mild smile, was once among the men wielding the most absolute power in Yugoslavia--a tough and feared Stalinist.

"I have changed a little, but not much," he says. "On the big questions I have not changed my views, but the world has changed, and they (the regime) have changed. They are not intolerant in the Marxist sense of the word--pragmatic is more like it--and they consider my case on practical grounds: is it worth the trouble to put him in prison or not?"

"I don't have any serious problems nowadays. They are reasonable in my case, but not, for example, when it comes to Mihajlo Mihajlov (the imprisoned author), whose sentence was totally irrational, emotional, and wrong." He continued, "I also feel that the 'Cominformists' (Yugoslav communists loyal to Moscow) were given sentences that were too stiff. I certainly feel the same

way about them as the regime does, but 10 years in prison--for all practical purposes, that is the same as a death sentence."

Satisfied With His Fate

Milovan Djilas says that on the whole, he is satisfied with his fate, which is to be able to write, and he has no desire to go back to playing a political role in Yugoslavia. But of course he would, he adds, "if I must and if duty toward the nation calls, but never again as a minister."

He laughed and said, "No, no." His alert brown eyes narrowed, and the laugh became a delighted and infectious chuckle. "No, I never liked power. I always felt an aversion to it. Besides, thoughts and ideas associated with power or concerned with gaining power are worthless in practice."

"Of course there was a difficult and complex adjustment for me to make when I lost my position. But it was not merely the fact that I had lost power. I was also separated from colleagues with whom I had not only taken part in a revolution, but whose lives I had also shared."

I asked him, "Do you have any contact with your former colleagues?"

He answered, "No, it takes two people to have contact."

He smiled cheerfully again.

"No, I am not bitter. I don't hate anyone. Perhaps I am a little cynical intellectually, yes, but there is no hate."

The difficulties began for Djilas as far as back as the 1930's, under the Yugoslav monarchy. At that time he was a young communist student in Belgrade who had come from a little village in Montenegro. In 1933, at the age of 22, he was sentenced to 3 years in prison for his communist activity.

In Tito's Inner Circle

Beginning in 1938 Djilas belonged to the inner circle around Tito, along with Edvard Kardelj, who is still part of the party leadership, Lola Ribar, who is dead, and Alexander Rankovic, who in 1966 was dismissed from all his duties, one of which was the post of security chief. Those five led the Yugoslav partisans to victory over the German occupiers and created today's Yugoslavia.

But in 1954 Djilas was expelled from the party after a series of articles written by him appeared in the party newspaper BORBA. In them he had criticized the party and recommended far-reaching changes for the democratization of the party and the country.

"I knew that the article would lead to conflicts with the party leadership, but I wanted to emphasize my own position and stress that I could not approve

of a return to unfeeling bureaucracy and dogmatism following Stalin's death (in 1953)."

In 1956 Djilas received a 3-year prison sentence for an interview in which he hailed the Hungarian revolt as the end of communism. It was during that time that his book "The New Class" was published in the United States, and his sentence was extended to 7 years.

Djilas says, "The theses in the book still hold good. It was written in what was for me a very important period in my life, and it is decisive as a personal self-criticism of the past."

He looked around and continued, "I wrote it here in this apartment. The regime must take responsibility for the fact that I wrote it, because they would not permit me to publish political works. Yes, I would probably have written it sooner or later, but perhaps not just at that particular time."

Happy in Prison

As an author, Djilas is perhaps best known for "The New Class" and its severe criticism of the communist leaders in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia for having built up a new class which only uses its power for its own ends. But "Talks With Stalin" also attracted a great deal of attention when it was published in 1961.

"I wrote that book between two prison terms. I had no idea that I would be punished for it. They convicted me of having revealed state secrets. But I was completely innocent. The charges were false. I was very careful when I wrote the book and got my material from several acknowledged sources."

Djilas recalled, "The authorities called me up when they discovered that the book was going to be published abroad. That was just before the visit to Yugoslavia by Soviet Minister of Foreign Affairs Gromyko, and relations with the Soviet Union were good. They said that if the book were published, I would be subject to a long prison term. But I refused to stop publication and was sentenced to 5 years."

He chuckled and quickly added:

"It is better to be convicted when you are innocent than when you are guilty, because then you feel better in prison. That was a time completely free of problems for me, and I could have stayed there the rest of my life. It was not at all like my imprisonment at the end of the 1950's, which was very hard. That first time, I felt like a rebel against the Yugoslav leadership. My nerves were bad and conditions were difficult. For one thing, I spent 20 months in solitary confinement."

Democratic Socialist

Today Milovan Djilas calls himself a democratic socialist.

"I am not anti-Marxist or anticommunist, but neither am I a Marxist; I am a democratic socialist. That is not the same thing as a social democrat," he added, "because the latter concentrates on reforming capitalist society."

He feels that democratic socialism is the only possibility for Yugoslavia and East Europe. To go back to capitalism would be nonsense. It would be like seeing France return to feudalism.

What he wants for Yugoslavia in principle is a multiparty system. But not overnight. That is not realistic; chaos would break out. Today Yugoslavia is already a pluralistic society but does not have a pluralistic political structure, and the country goes its own way compared to the Eastern bloc.

I asked if Yugoslavia is a threatened country today.

Milovan Djilas answered, "Yes, potentially by the Soviet Union. In the classic meaning of the term, there is now only one imperialist country left in the world, and that is the Soviet Union. The United States is a world power, but not in the military sense. Its power is more economic and technical. China is not imperialistic.

"The Soviet Union constitutes a potential threat to Yugoslavia and Romania. The ideological quarrels that crop up from time to time are not accidental. Look, for example, at how the Soviet Union has changed its propaganda since the conference of communist parties in East Berlin last summer. Despite the documents and the lengthy preparations, emphasis is again being placed on proletarian internationalism and the unity of the communist movement. That is completely contrary to the spirit of the conference, and it is no accident."

Difficulties After Tito

"The conference was a victory for the so-called Tito line with Yugoslavia, Italy, France, and Spain. But now the Russians are seeking to change that and to downgrade the conference. I expected this, of course, but I thought it would be done more quietly and mainly for domestic reasons, in order to check any possible movement in domestic opinion. But now we see that there are also external reasons for the campaign."

Djilas continued, "In a system such as the Soviet system, ideological questions play an important role. This is a sign of preparations being made for something new. I was surprised that the Russians agreed to all the Yugoslav demands on the eve of the conference. But now they have changed their minds. And I believe that they intend in the future to take steps against Yugoslavia and Romania. Of course, it is tied in with the Soviet

hope that Yugoslavia will disintegrate after Tito is gone. And that is definitely a danger."

Djilas feels that it is obviously uncertain what will happen in Yugoslavia after Tito's death (he is now 84 years old). He says, "It is clear, however, that difficulties are bound to arise. But I do not believe that Yugoslavia will break up. Neither do I believe very much in a Soviet invasion if Yugoslavia holds together."

Not Much of a Tourist

Djilas also sees in Yugoslavia's relations with the Soviet Union a role for the so-called Eurocommunists in West Europe: the Italians, the French, and the Spanish. The Yugoslavs are certainly not enthusiastic about Eurocommunism's theses concerning pluralism and democracy, says Djilas. But they are interested in helping the Eurocommunists stand firm in the face of the Soviet Union, and in turn, the Eurocommunists support the Yugoslavs for the same reasons.

The third part of Milovan Djilas' memoirs is expected to be published in the United States next spring. It will be a sequel to "Country Without Justice," which dealt with the years when he was growing up in Montenegro, and "Memoirs of a Revolutionary," dealing with his student years in Belgrade. This, his eighth book, is called "Revolutionary War" and deals with World War II. It is already finished. What is he doing now?

"Nothing special. I read."

He does not travel because he has not been allowed a passport since 1970. The last time he went abroad was in 1969, when he visited Italy and Austria.

"But it doesn't matter. I am not much of a tourist."

Eventually there will be a fourth section of his memoirs. It will cover the postwar period up through his conflict with Tito and the party leadership. When it will appear is something he could not say. He chuckled again and said:

"I'm lazy."

11798

CSO: 3109

YUGOSLAVIA

LCY DISCIPLINES, EXPELS STAFF MEMBERS AT KOSOVO SCHOOL

Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 24 Oct 76 p 5

[Excerpts] For quite some time the situation has not been good at the "8 November" Gymnasium in Podujevo, the largest intermediate training and educational institution in the Lap and Golik area which has been and is being investigated. Especially recently, as a result of a lack of vigilance by some teachers who are LC members and the weakness of actions regarding the continued training of the membership in the LC as the avant-garde of the working class in all areas of social life, as well as [a lack of vigilance by] the workers themselves in this organization of associated labor, some individuals, who were also known before for destructive action and who were also penalized and expelled from the LC, managed to get by and even be elected to functions within the highest self-management organ of the school.

Seeing dismissals made in some meetings of the basic LC organization, at the expanded meeting the day before yesterday of the LC commune committee with the basic LC organization at the Gymnasium and at yesterday's meeting of the workers group and other self-management organs of the school, these manifestations were drawn into the center of criticism and it was decided to revoke the mandates of Kadri Kadriu, Bajram Blakqori, Idriz Gashi, and Ibrahim Mengjigji as members of the school council, as well as the mandates of Hazir Razi as leader of the school groups and of Mehmet Fazliu as head of the trade union. These people had not only not fulfilled their functions, even approximately, in regard to the criteria established regarding election to these important functions of self-management organs, but some of them had even been penalized before and expelled from the LCY.

On this occasion it was pointed out that some LC members in this intermediate educational institution, while neglecting individual work on development and aptitude for action, not only were not committed in a maximum way to clarifying the disquieting situation in the school, but also did not want to fulfill and were not committed to fulfilling the conclusions and tasks for which they had declared themselves previously. Because of opportunism manifested in carrying out tasks in an undisciplined way, Mehmet Fazliu and Shefki Toplice were

expelled from the LC by the basic LC organization in a joint meeting in the LC commune committee, and when the organization made no statement, the commune committee voted also to expel Hazir Raci [Raqi] from the LC for the same reason. The LC organization justifiably penalized Hilmi Kastrati and Hakif Mehmeti because of a liberal view toward some weaknesses, while a social criticism was issued [for the same reason] against Riza Gashi, the school director.

CSO: 2100

YUGOSLAVIA

PARTY ACTION AGAINST RELIGIOUS DISSIDENCE URGED

Pristina JEDINSTVO in Serbo-Croatian 11 Oct 76 p 5

[Excerpts] It has not once been asserted in our life that all the questions to which the LCY has not devoted enough attention would not spring into view suddenly.

Let us acknowledge: we have behaved toward such questions in a surprising and campaign-like fashion. Our action toward many "isms" has been characterized in this or in a similar way. When we promised, having been taught by the experience of everyday occurrence, that we will maintain a broad and strong front of organized struggle against all anti-self-management manifestations and tendencies, we omitted and forgot some things. It was also like this when, after the long step made by our economy, we finally learned that everything in the economy was not in the best order. We turned to it with all force, with all thought for economic operation, amazed, as if all the negligence in this important field had occurred overnight. Up to then we rarely spoke about it, but since then we have been speaking and thinking of it unceasingly, judging it, and finding new solutions and programs. It recently happened this way also when we became conscious of the irrefutable fact that our entire school system is not only ripe, but overripe for changes.

Perhaps this also had to happen in this way, almost suddenly. But ought we to permit such important questions as religion and its "modern metamorphosis" to be omitted from the active, ideological struggle of all our organizational socialist forces in this exceptionally intensive period of our socioeconomic development, at a time when everything is important.

Is this happening to us because we were convinced (and no less so even today) that we had "clean accounts in regard to it."

If we figured this way, convinced that the certainty of dialectical proofs have not only essentially changed the world outside but also within our area, and [although we] removed the century-old god from the pedestal of his tragic-magic power, in the dark which exists within every light individuals imbued with malice celebrate Easter and the Cross, and "Bajram" (Moslem religious days), and fasting is left to the believers....

Have we not again forgotten the need for continuous action in this area as we did before in the areas of the economy and education?

A few small incidental cases recently do not provide an occasion for alarm, but are adequately indicative to warrant attention. In some places the news "leaks" out or something is written that [church] synods are no longer what they were or what "they should be," that, previously, offices were closed for religious holidays, that people left their machines, and were "officially" absent from work.

We heard this yesterday, and we will perhaps hear it also tomorrow. Why then are we not starting to discuss this today? It is certain that we do not know how much of this there is and how much is correct, but it is even more certain that we have to know that calculations are being made not only with God but also with our lack of attention, with our inadequate interest in learning who the real calculators are. Thus, we must not look for the "right" time and place: we must discuss this everywhere and at any time, in factory areas along with economic subjects and dilemmas, in schools along with discussions on school reform, and in local and all communities.

CSO: 2800

ISLANDERS FORCED TO CHOOSE BETWEEN PUBLIC, PRIVATE WORK

Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 7 Sep 76 p 6

[Article by Dusan Dimitrijevic: "Private Endeavor of Socially Responsible Persons"]

[Text] The Rab opstina LCY committee adopted conclusions last autumn that have left the whole island considerably "agitated" even now. To be sure, the conclusions were adopted only after a prolonged discussion and after certain opposing opinions had been heard. In any case, an end has been put to the established practice and idea that a person's main income ought to come not from regular employment in the social sector but from renting rooms and preparing meals for tourists "home style." This has not been a painless process, especially on Rab, where hardly anyone does not derive "private" profit from tourism in some way or other.

"It is true that spirits are still troubled," says secretary Ivan Pljesa of the Rab opstina LCY committee, "but we anticipated that. Any break with something that has been going on, is 'domesticated,' as it were, and brings gain--that is quite painful. We were appraising self-protection in our opstina very seriously last year, with a lively discussion that extended over several meetings, but the longest discussion was about whether managerial personnel in basic organizations of associated labor and opstina officials may engage in private endeavor, which in our case means providing room and board for tourists. We proceeded from the idea that the fate of managerial personnel must be tied to the organizations in which they work. In other words, the earnings achieved by such persons 'at home' are bound to have consequences for social income. Our conclusions had a resounding effect, but there were various comments and some spitefulness as well. This was especially the case on Rab, where people seem to have thought that we were just stirring up the dust and that they should wait for the whirlwind to pass. However, the majority of the inhabitants of the island approved our conclusions, so our action obtained 'citizenship rights' even though we were able to initiate it only in May of this year for seasonal reasons."

"What have you accomplished specifically?" we asked. "What are the initial results?"

"We are striking the balance right now," says Pljesa. "First of all, we estimate that the majority of the managerial personnel have renounced their 'private endeavor' without any particular resistance and that the idea has come to predominate that a combination of social and private endeavor is not only untenable but also socially dangerous, especially from the standpoint of social self-protection."

The best evidence that these are not empty words is contained in the draft social compact on the foundations of personnel policy in Rab opstina, which states among other things that officials of the opstina assembly and sociopolitical organizations and holders of leadership positions in administrative entities, inspectorates, basic organizations of associated labor, working communities, as well as jobholders in education and public safety, "may not be workers who engage in supplemental activities in addition to work in associated labor and thus obtain supplementary income (renting rooms to tourists, cooking meals, boarding house services, etc.)."

This social compact is currently undergoing public discussion, and all indications are that it will be approved.

In the meantime, moreover, all basic organizations on Rab have held assemblies of working people, at which self-managing decrees have been passed to forbid persons holding managerial positions to engage in "private endeavor." Such managerial positions include head chef, head waiters, and chief desk clerks, plus directors of basic organizations and managerial personnel in a small basic organization.

"This year is 'transitional' in a way," says Pljesa. "Certain managerial personnel were able to rent out rooms, but only for this one last time and on the condition that this is done in a socially organized way, via a travel agency or tourist organization. At the moment, three directors of basic organizations and four head chefs or head waiters in our opstina have resigned, opting for 'private endeavor.'"

The "lamb scandal" in the San Marino hotel complex on Rab, which had been efficiently operated and carefully covered up, was brought to light recently, probably thanks to this LCY campaign. Already severely punished by the party, several employees of this well-known tourist facility had been illegally catching lambs not only on Rab but also on the neighboring islands for processing in the San Marino kitchen. Rumors are also heard of the sale of "private beverages" in the Banjol restaurant and certain other phenomena, evidence of the justification for the energetic action undertaken by the LCY on Rab.

CSO: 2800

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